THE HISTORY OF Independency.

The Fourth and last Part.

Continued from the Death of his late Majesty, King Charls the First of happy Memory, till the deaths of the chief of that *Junćto*.

By T. M. Esquire, a Lover of his King and Country.

Cicero Epist. Lib. 2. Ep. 3.

Civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit.

Id. Lib. 5. Ep. 12.

Habet autem præteriti doloris secura recordatio delectationem.

LONDON,
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UMI

Moſt Dread Soveraign.

IT *is neither arrogance nor ambition that makes me thus boldly to intrude into your preſence, for* I *know ſo great a Sun will quickly dazle my weak eyes, but becauſe the former parts were honoured with your royal Fathers name, this therefore hopes to be ſheltered under your Princely wing, this but concluding what they begun, and making you the happy repayrer of thoſe Breaches, which that powerfull and reſtleſs faction of* Independency *made on the* Regalia *of* England, *that poſterity may as well ſee, in this, their felicity, by you, in the ruine of that faction, as formerly they read their own miſery, in the Treaſonable actings thereof, againſt his late Majeſty of ever glorious memory.*

I *have no more but only to pray, that you may in this World be bleſſed with the*

wiſdom, and happyneſſe of Solomon, *a peaceable, long and all glorious Reign: the age of* Methuſelah, *wherein you may enjoy the full contents of a moſt happy life, and at laſt full of honour and dayes arrive to the perfect fruition of a more glorious Kingdom, in Gods preſence, before whom is fullneſs of joy, and at his right hand pleaſures for evermore.*

This from his ſoul is the daily prayer of
29. Oct. Your Majeſties moſt faithfull
1660. ſubject and Servant.
T. M.

To

TO THE

SACRED MAJESTY

OF

Great BRITTAINS MONARCH.

(*The Triumphant Son of a most Glorious Father, who was in all things* More than Conquerour.)

The Illustrious ofspring of a Royal Traine of ANTIENT PRINCES

CHARLES

The second of that Name, Entituled

PIOUS

By the sole Providence of an Almighty Hand, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith.

Restorer *of the* English Church *unto its* Pristine State *and* Glory.

Patron *of* Law *and* Liberty,

Not to be Seconded by any but himself,
Who *is the best of Kings.*

And of all Vertue to the World

THE

GRAND EXEMPLAR.

To the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy *and* Commons of ENGLAND.

IT is I think more out of custome than necessity, that I do at this time premise any thing, the Subject whereof we treat, having been fatally felt by most of the Nation in some way or other, yet is it necessary that the history of such turgencies in the State should be communicated, that posterity may hereafter see, in their rise and fall, the certain punishment of Treason, though for a time guarded and upheld by armed violence, and the highest policies of a subtle malice.

It is said of the Epicureans, that, though they acknowledged no providence, nor any immortality of the soul, and proposed pleasure as the only end of their lives, yet they maintained (most of them) that they that were lovers of pleasure, must of necessity be lovers of Justice, and that without virtue it was not possible for men to live in true pleasure, So as it was said of the Stoicks (who were for the most part notable hypocrites) that they spoke good things, and did foul actions, but that the Epicureans spoke and taught things that seemed foul and shamefull, but did that which was fair and honest.

Certenly these two sects of Philosophers might be the very parallel of our late times, wherein our Stoicall Grandees could speak nothing but holiness, where the practice of their lives was a continued series of horrid Treasons, while a litle innocent mirth and freeness of speech was the greatest that lay, or indeed could be cast, upon integrity of their despised Antagonists: so that we might see Cucullus non facit Monarchum.

It had been well for England if the sad occasions of writing this

this history of the times had never happened: but they have been: And, as our Saviour saith, Offences must come, but wo be to them by whom they come, so then to declare the actings, and their method and manner, is but so to lay them open, that they may for the future be the better avoided and prevented.

The knowledge of all persons, the meaning of all matters, and the depth of all secrets, is lockt up in history according to that of Vossius, alluding to that of the Roman Poet, Voss. de scri. Agt. & de art. histor.

Quid quid sit turpe, aut pulchrum, quid utile, quid non
Plenius & melius Chrysyppo & Crantore dixit.

And this I dare promise you in the ensuing Manual; without too violent reflections to widen differences: all the observations arising as naturally from the relations, as suteable words do fitly supply the ready tongue of a Learned Orator.

It is the generall happinesse at this present, that we can read the downfall of faction, and rejoyce in the glory of restored Majesty with safety and content; and I pray God, that all the mischiefs of the remaining Achitophel's, Shimei's and Rabshakeh's, may fall upon their own heads: but peace, happiness and prosperity, may waite on our Solomon, that he may be blessed, and his throne be established, before the Lord for ever.

To Conclude; As your Loyalty in the worst, oftentimes hath been signal (if in nothing else yet in sufferings) so dispise not to read this tractate, wherein, I dare presume, you will find something which before you knew not: the work, 'its true is short, but will not, I hope, want substance, inest enim sua gratia parvis; and to remember these things certainly cannot be irksome——

——Sæpe recordari medicamine melius omni.

to see and escape danger causeth, not only admiration but pleasure: which that you may receive with content by the perusall hereof is desired.

I shall only add one word in particular, first to the Nobility; You are Right Honourable Princes in the Congregation of our Israel, Men of renown, exemplarily both in your names and honours. Be as eminent in service for your Prince, as obliged to him for favours, that it may be recorded of you as it is of Davids Worthies. These are the mighty men which David had, who strengthened themselves with him in his Kingdom, according to the word of the Lord.

2. To the Gentry, You are they whom Jethro counselled Moses to provide out of all the people to assist him, and be mediatours between Prince and People; approve your selves according to that counsel to be able men, such as fear God, men of truth and hating covetousness, so shall the Lord give a blessing as he hath promised.

3. To the Clergy, God hath made you as a Beacon upon an hill, that you might forewarn Israel of her sins, ye are the salt of the Earth, while you preach to others be not your selves cast away, but in season and out of season labour, labour to declare Christ not of contention and strife, but sowe the word to effect that fruit may grow thereby.

And lastly to the Commons, who are tumidum & instabile vulgus: I shall only wish that they will labour for peace, and, according to their Royal Princes dictate in his late Declaration concerning Ecclesiasticall affairs, acquiesce in his condescentions concerning the differences which have so much disquieted the Sate: by which endeavour all good Subjects will by Gods blessing enjoy as great a measure of felicity as this Nation hath ever done; which is the earnest prayer of

No. 2. 1660. Your, &c.

T. M.

THE HISTORY OF Independency.

The Fourth and Laſt part.

THE former parts of this Book having traced the prevalent and ſtrong Factions of *Preſbyterian* and *Independent*, through the ſeveral devious pathes wherein they marched, and with what deviliſh cunning they did, each, endeavour to be greateſt, by ſurpriſing, or at leaſt undermining the other, until at laſt they unriveted the very foundations of Government, by the execrable murther of their undoubtedly lawful Soveraign, a crime ſo abhorred, that it is even inexpiable, not to be purged with ſacri- The Proeme.

fice for ever: I ſay, theſe things having received ſo lively a delineation in the former parts, ſhall need no new recitalls. I ſhall then begin at the end thereof, which was; when the ſacred Reliques of betrayed Majeſty, *Specie juſtitiæ*, received a fatal ſtroke from blood-thirſty hands, neither able to protect it ſelf, or be a ſhadow and *Aſylum* for rejected Truth, and unſpotted Loyalty. Thus in an unſetled and confuſed poſture ſtood poor *England*, when the Sceptre departed from *Iſrael*, and the Royal Lyon was not only robbed of his prey, but his Life: which Barbariſm once committed, what did the Independent Faction, now grown chief, ever after ſtick at? Having taſted Royal Blood, the Blood of Nobles ſeemed but a ſmall thing: to which end, and to heighten and perfect their begun villanies, they erect another High Court of Juſtice, for the Tryal of *James* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Earl of *Holland*, *George* Lord *Goring*, *Arthur* Lord *Capell*, and Sir *John Owen* Knight: whereof that Horſleech of Hell, *John Bradſhaw*, was alſo Preſident, who with ſixty two more (as honeſt men as himſelf) by a Warrant under the hands of *Luke Robinſon*, *Nicholas Love*, and *J. Sarland*, ſummoned for that purpoſe, did accordingly appear upon *Munday* the fifth day of *February*, 1648. for the putting in Execution an Act of Parliament (as they called it) for the erecting of an High Court of Juſtice, for the trying and adjudging the Earls and Lords aforeſaid; with whom (according to their fore-ſettled reſolution) making ſhort work (for they would admit of no plea) of the five they preſently condemned three to loſe their heads on a ſcaffold in the Pallace-yard at *Weſtminſter*, on *Friday* the ninth day of *March*: which day being come, about ten of the clock that Morning, Lieutenant Collonel *Beecher* came with his Order to the

Lords *H. H. C.* tryed.

Lords condemned.

ſeveral

ſeveral Priſoners at S. *James's*, requiring them to come away; from whence they were immediately hurried in Sedans, with a ſtrong guard, to Sir *Thomas Cotton's* houſe at *Weſtminſter*, where they continued about two hours, ſpending the whole time in holy devotion and religious exerciſes. After which the Earl of *Cambridge* preparing firſt for the Scaffold, after mutual embraces, and ſome ſhort parting expreſſions to, and for, his fellow-ſufferers, he took his leave, and went along with the Officers, attended on by Dr. *Sibbalds*, whom he had choſen for his Comforter in his ſad condition. Being arrived at the Scaffold, and ſeeing ſeveral Regiments both of horſe and foot drawn up in the place: after he had waited a little while with a fruitleſs hope and expectation of receiving ſome comfortable news from the Earl of *Denbigh* who was his Brother; having ſent for his Servant, who being returned, and having delivered his Meſſage to the Earl of *Cambridge* privately, he ſaid, *So, It is done now*: and turning to the front of the Scaffold he ſpake to this effect. *That he deſired not to ſpeak much, but being by providence brought to that place, he declared to the Sheriff, that the matter he ſuffered for, as being a Traytor to the kingdom of* England, *he was not guilty of, having done what he did by the command of the Parliament of his own Countrey, whom he durſt not diſobey, they being ſatisfyed with the juſtneſſe of their procedure, and himſelf by the commands by them laid upon him; and acknowledging that he had many wayes deſerved a worldly puniſhment, yet he hoped through Chriſt to obtain remiſſion of his ſins. That he had from his Infancy profeſſed the ſame Religion eſtabliſhed by Law in the land. That, whereas he had been aſperſed for evil intents towards the King, all his actions being hypocritically diſguiſed to advance his own ſelf-intereſt: hereto he proteſted his innocency,*

Hamiltons ſpeech at his death.

nocency; profeſſing he had reaſon to love the King, as he was his King, and had been his Maſter, with other words to the ſame effect. That, as to the matter of invitation into the kingdom, he referred himſelf to the Declaration then in Print; and ſetting forth how ready and willing he was ever to ſerve the Engliſh, wiſhing happineſſe and peace to them, and praying that his blood might be the laſt that ſhould be drawn, heartily forgiving all, ſaying, I carry no rancour along with me to the grave. That his Religion was ſuch as he ſpoke of before, whoſe Tenets he needed not to expreſſe, as being known to all, and himſelf not of a rigid opinion, being not troubled with other mens differing judgments; with which words, and forgiving all that he might have even the greateſt animoſity againſt, he kneeled down with Dr. *Sibbald*, and prayed with much earneſtneſſe and devotion: which pious exerciſe performed, and ſome ſhort ejaculations paſſing between himſelf and the Doctor, the Earl turning to the Executioner, ſaid, *Shall I put on another cap, and turn up my hair? Which way is it that you would have me lye, Sir?* The Executioner pointing to the front of the Scaffold, the Earl replyed, *What, my head this way?* Then the Underſheriffs ſon ſaid, My Lord, the Order is, that you lay your head toward the High Court of Juſtice. Then the Earl, after ſome private diſcourſe with his ſervants, kneeled down on the ſide of the Scaffold, and prayed a while to himſelf; afterwards with a ſmiling and cheerful countenance he embraced the Doctor in his Arms, and then his ſervants, ſaying to them, *Ye have been very faithful to me*, and *the Lord bleſſe you:* then turning to the Executioner, ſaid: *I ſhall ſay a very ſhort prayer while I lie down there, and when I ſtretch out my hand, (my right hand) then, Sir, do your duty, and I do freely forgive you, and ſo I do all the World.*

So

So lying down, and having fitted himſelf, devoutly praying to himſelf a ſhort ſpace, he ſtretched out his right hand, whereupon the Executioner, at one blow, ſevered his head from his body, which was received by two of his Servants, then kneeling by him, into a Crimſon Taffeta ſcarfe; and that with the body immediately put into the Coffin brought thither for that purpoſe, and ſo carried to Sr. *John Hambletons* houſe at the *Mewes*. *Hamilton executed.*

This Execution done, the Sheriffs guard went immediately to fetch the Earl of *Holland*, whom they met in the midway, where the under Sheriffs ſon having received him into his charge, conducted him to the Scaffold, Mr. *Bolton* paſſing all the way hand in hand, with him. Being come upon the ſame, and obſerving he could not ſpake aloud enough to be heard by the People, by reaſon of the numerouſneſs of the Souldiery that encompaſſed him, he ſaid. I think it is to no purpoſe to ſay any thing; then proceeded. That his breeding had been in a good family, that had ever been faithfull to the true Proteſtant Religion, in which he had ever lived, and now reſolved by Gods grace to dye. That he hoped God would forgive him his ſins, though he acknowledged his Juſtice in bringing him thither for puniſhment of them in this World. He obſerved, that he was looked on as one that had ill deſigns againſt the State. Truly (*ſaith he*) I look upon it as a judgement, not having offended the Parliament in any thing, ſave an extreme vanity in ſerving them very extraordinarily. That his affections had been ever known to be faithfull, and without wavering: where the Parliament wrought changes beyond and againſt reaſon and Religion, there He left them. That he ever ſought the peace of the Kingdom, and that made him do *Hollands ſpeech on the Scaffold.*

what

'what he did. That he knew not how to judge of (the 'then) present affairs; but should pray, that the King-'dome might be again governed by the King, by the 'Lords, by the Commons: and that the People may 'look upon the Posterity of the King with that affection 'they owe: that they may be called again without blood-'shed, and admitted into that power and glory that 'God in their birth intended to them.

'That he wisheth happiness even to the causers of 'his death, praying heartily to God to forgive them. 'And as Chancellor of *Cambridge* really praying, that 'that University might flourish, and be a continuall Nur-'sery both to Learning and Religion. Then mentio-'ning again his Religion and family, relating something 'to his own behaviour, and his being a great sinner, yet 'that he hoped God would hear his prayers, and give 'him faith to trust in him, with his prayers for the Peo-ple, he ended. Then turning to the side, he prayed for a good space of time: after which by the instigation of Mr. *Bolton*, he said. 'That he was the less troubled with 'his violent death, when he remembred how his Savi-'our suffered for him; and again, when he considered the 'King his Master not long before passed the same way; 'with others at this time with himself, with a serious 'and pithy justification of his said Master the late Kings 'Majesty, a short recapitulation of his first speech con-'cerning his Actions, Religion, breeding and sufferings. 'After all, wholly casting himself, on the merits and mer-'cies of Jesus Christ, forgiving his Enemies, praying for 'peace, and that their blood might be the last, which 'was shed strangely, the tryall being as extraordinary 'as any thing in the Kingdom: but he owned it as Gods hand: then having, some divine conference with Mr.

Bolton

Bolton for neer a quarter of an hour, and spoken to a Souldier that took him prisoner and others, he embraced Lievtenant Collonel *Beecher*, and took his leave of him. After which he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, and returned him many thanks for his great pains and affection to his soul, he prepared himself to the block: whereupon turning to the Executioner, he said; *here my friend, let my Cloaths and my body alone, there is ten pounds for thee, that is better than my cloaths, I am sure of it. And when you take up my head, do not take off my cap:* then taking his farewell of his Servants, he kneeled down and prayed, for a pretty space, with much earnestness. His behaviour.

Then going to the front of the Scaffold, he said to the People, *God bless you all, God give all happiness, to this Kingdom, to this People, to this Nation.* Then laying himself down, he seemed to pray with much affection for a short space, and then lifting up his head (seeing the Executioner by him) he said, *stay while I give the signe* and presently after stretching out his hand, and saying, now, now; just as the words were coming out of his mouth, the Executioner at one blow severed his head from his body. E. of *Holland* death.

The Execution of the Earl of *Holland* being thus performed, the Lord *Capell* was brought to the Scaffold as the former: and as he passed along, he put off his hat to the People on both sides, looking about him with a very stern countenance; when mounting on the Scaffold having before taken his leave of his Chaplain, and bidding his Servants that were with him to refrain from weeping, coming to the front of the Scaffold, he spoke to this purpose. Lo. *Capell* his speech before his death.

That he would pray for those that sent him thither, and

'and were the cause of his violent Death; it being an 'effect of the Religion he professed, being a Protestant, 'with the profession whereof he was very much in love, 'after the manner as it was established in *England* by the '39. Articles. That he abhorred Papistry, relying only on Christs merits. That he was condemned to dye 'contrary to the Law that governs all the World, that 'is, by the Law of the Sword, the Protection whereof 'he had for his Life: yet among Englishmen, he an 'Englishman acknowledged Peer, condemned to dye 'contrary to all the laws of *England*. That he dyed (as 'to the cause he fought in) for maintaining the fifth 'Commandement, injoyned by God himself, the Father of the Country, the King, as well as the natural 'Parent being to be obeyed thereby. That he was guilty 'of Voting against the Earl of *Strafford*; but he hoped 'God had washed off the guilt of his blood with the 'more precious blood of his Son. That his late Majesty was the most vertuous, and sufficient known Prince 'in the World. God preserve the King that now is, 'his Son. God send him more fortunate and longer 'dayes. God restore him to this Kingdom, that that family may reign till thy Kingdom come; that is, while 'all Temporal power is consummated. God give much 'happiness to this your King; and to you that in it shall 'be his subjects. That he did again forgive those that 'were the causers of his coming thither from his very 'soul: so praying again for the King and his restoration, 'and for the peace of the Kingdom, he finished his 'speech.

L. C. his carriage. Then turning about to the Executioner, he pulled off his doublet; when the Heads-man kneeling down, Lord *Capell* said, *I forgive thee from my soul, and shall pray*

pray for thee; There is five pounds for thee, and if any thing be due for my cloaths, you ſhall be fully recompenced. And when I ly down, give me a ſhort time for a prayer: then again bleſſing the People very earneſtly, and deſiring their prayers at the moment of death, he ſaid to the Executioner, *you are ready when I am ready, are you not,* then as he ſtood putting up his hair, with hands and eyes lift up he ſaid. *O God, I do with a perfect and a willing heart ſubmit to thy will. O God, I do moſt willingly humble my ſelf,* ſo kneeling down, and fitting his neck to the block, as he lay with both his hands ſtretched out, he ſaid, *when I lift up my Right hand, then ſtrike.* When after he had ſaid a ſhort prayer, he lifted up his right hand, and the Executioner at one blow ſevered his head from his body, which was taken up by his ſervants and put into a Coffin. L. *Capell* beheaded.

Having thus brought to paſs their bloody purpoſe, ſhortly after they acquitted the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *John Owen* as to their lives, but ſeized upon all they had: according as they did upon moſt of the Eſtates of the Nobility and Gentry throughout *England*; for ſuch now was their unſatiable malice, that they thought it not enough to ruine and deſtroy the heads of Families; but, with diveliſh rancor, endeavour to blot out the name and memoriall of Poſterity, by ſuch unheard of cruelties, and barbarous actions, as would make a Savage *Scithian* or *Barbarian* bluſh to think on, ſo that we may ſay with *Cicero* in the like caſe; *Rem vides, quomodo ſe habeat: orbem terrarum Imperiis diſtributis ardere bello: urbem ſine legibus, ſine judiciis, ſine jure, ſine fide relictam direptioni, & incendiis.* Which indeed is the very preſent caſe. The barbarouſneſs of the faction.

Thus did they grow from bad to worſe, acting rather

like butchers then Men, each one of them proving to all about him, a devouring wolfe, whoſe inſatiate gorge was never filled with his pray, ſo that having in effect the maſtery of them (whom they called their Enemies) like true thieves they fall out about parting the ſtakes: the Presbyterian faction will brook no ſuperior, the Independent no equall, upon theſe terms ſtands the Kingdom divided, when the later grown now more powerfull by the addition of the Army, whoſe guilt in the murther of the King had ſuggeſted to them, that the only way to ſave and raiſe themſelves, was to confound and reduce all things elſe to an Anarchy. In purſuance of which Principle they at laſt proceed againſt the very root of Monarchy: and after many uncouth debates reſolved, that the Nation ſhould be ſetled in the way of a free State, and Kingly government be utterly aboliſhed. Now was the ſtile in all proceedings at the law altered, the ſeals changed, and the Kings armes and ſtatues in all places taken down, that ſo their ſeared conſciences might not at the ſight thereof be terrified, with the ſad remembrance of their committed crimes. And that no ſparke or attendant of antient Majeſty might be left remaining, ſoon after, they vote the houſe of Lords to be burdenſome and uſeleſs: and that the People might underſtand their meaning alſo, on the 21th. of *February* they proclaim at *Weſtminſter*, and ſend it to the City the next Day to the like purpoſe, but the then Lord Mayor refuſing to do it, as being contrary to his honour, conſcience and Oath, rather choſe to ſuffer an unjuſt impriſonment, which he did in the *Tower*: Any honeſt Man would have thought this example would have put a ſtop to the attempt of any villain for the making that proclamation, but ſo farr were they from being

The Army and Independent cloſe

Free-ſtate appointed.

Lords houſe voted uſeleſs.

being deserted, that they rather grow more implacable, and having found some hair brained, and half decayed, Citizens, out of them, one is set up as a mock Mayor, who being a fellow fit for their turns, after a short complement or two with the Junto: he enters the Stage and Proclaims, the abolishing of Kingship, and the House of Lords. Having thus brought their design to some kind of maturity, they find another invention to be as a *Shibboleth*, a mark of distinction, between themselves and other men, and that was the engagement forsooth, whereby every man should promise to be true and faithfull to the Common-wealth of *England*, without a King or house of Lords, and he that would not subscribe to this, was forced either to fly, or which was as bad, to stay at home, and have neither the benefit, nor the protection, of the law of the land, nor any advantage either of his liberty or Estate; Now might you have seen *Vice regnand*, and nothing but Schisme and faction Countenanced, now might you have beheld *England*, sometime the Glory of the World, now become its by words, the name of English being among forreign Nations esteemed as a crime sufficient, so did the Land mourn for oaths that she was ready to vomit out her inhabitants, while the Junto still endeavour to palliate their villany, and to get allies among neighbour Princes and States, to many of whom they send Embassadours (as they stiled them) and were again reciprocally courted and owned, and partiotlarly by the Spanyard and the French; but the Dutch did seem to be Men of a better mould and temper, and therefore having no better ground they quarrell for superiority, denying to vaill to the English, because they were the younger State, yet still owning that respect to the Monarchy: hereat the

The Proclamation against Kingship.

The engagement a mark of distinction.

The dutch quarrel.

English (though yet but an) Embrio begin to ſtartle, and weighing the unſetledneſs of their baſis, and that all they had hitherto done was only dawbed together with untempered morter, they reſolve to try all wayes rather then fall out, and will ſeek to gain that by Courtſhip, which they are unwilling to hazard by force; as a fit Man for this work they pick out a pure Saint, Mr. *Oliver*, St. *Johns*, and diſpatch him into *Holland* with, as large a train, as great State, and as full inſtructions as they could poſſibly afford or invent, whether when he is come, he makes his addreſſe to the Lords States, but with ſo little approbation and ſucceſs, that in a little time he began to grow weary of his buſineſſe, eſpecially, when the multitude began to grow clamourous againſt him, inſomuch that he durſt hardly ſtir abroad, ſo that being both outworded, and outwitted, after many debates, brotherly expoſtulations, Declarations, and hearty deſires to ſmall (or rather indeed to no) purpoſe, he gravely makes his Congee, takes his leave and vaniſheth; The Juncto at his return, ſomewhat diſcontented at his fruitleſs Embaſſie, yet finding no other remedy, and willing to make the beſt of a bad market, prepare for war, (for by this time the Dutch had begun both to affront them and ſeize on what they could catch as lawfull prize) which ſo vexed the Engliſh Puny State, that they preſently fall to an open war, the various ſucceſſes of which, and the loſſes that accrewed thereby to each party by means of the ſame, I ſhall not make the work of my pen, having only deſigned to delineate thoſe black deeds of impiety acted within the narrow limits of our *England*, by the horrideſt crew of bloody miſcreants that were ever ſpared by Divine vengeance from ſudden deſtruction.

St. *Johns* ſent to treat, but returnes without doing any thing.

The

The Engliſh affairs and Government being thus wreſted into the hands of a few deſperate perſons, the next thing aimed at is, the reducing of *Ireland*: for effecting whereof they give a Commiſſion to, and raiſe an Army under the Command of, *Cromwell*, which he as ſuddenly tranſports thither, *Ormond* and *Inchequeen* having at that time all the Country in obedience to his Majeſty, (ſave only *Dublin kept* by Col. *Michael Jones*, and *London-derry* by Sir *Charles Coot*) when lo, as it were to wellcome *Cromwell*, *Jones*, immediately before his arrival, had made way for him by the overthrow of *Ormonds* forces about *Dublin*: And now, as if fortune had already deſigned him the laurell, St. *Charles Coot*, in an other place at *Londonderry*, worſteth a Second party; and the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Inchequeen*, having joyned their broken forces into a conſiderable ſtrength, are again together overthrown at *Connaught*.

Ireland looked at.

Cromwell ſent to *Ireland* and prove Victorious.

The concatenation of theſe ſucceſſes, together with the cruelty exerciſed by *Cromwell* at the taking of *Tredagh* by ſtorm, where his rage ſpared neither age nor ſex, a barbariſm ſcarcely uſed by the very Turkes, caſt ſuch a Panick fear over the whole Nation, that the ſtrong holds fell into his power, like over-ripe fruit into the prepared hands of its ready gatherer.

So hidden and miſticall is the ſeries of Gods providence, that for a time, the moſt enormous crimes are counted vertues, & the poor looſing honeſt ſoul conſtrained to ſtoop and bow under the heavy yoke of a prevailing tyrant; yea Majeſty it ſelf enforced, (like the clouded Sun) compulſively to hide his beams, and retire with his light for a while, as though it had been but borrowed, but as the Sun, ſo Majeſty can never be kept in perpetuall darkneſs: for by this time the Indepen-

dents

dent, who had for a space been chief, find a Competitor of the Leveller, who resolves either to share in the whole, and so reduce and keep all in an equality, whereby himself may be one of the greatest, or else to endeavour to bring back all into its originall channel, and to shew they meant as they said, with better hearts then success or strength they rise in three or four places, for they are assoon quasht as seen, and themselves and their design end both together: A garment of linnen and woollen was forbidden to be worn by the Leviticall law, and I suppose because the mixture would be improper either for wearing, or handsomness of sight, in the same manner may I say of the Levelling faction, that though they in intent were reall for restoring the King, yet God would not suffer it to be brought to pass by such hands, that had been so deeply dyed before in royall blood. The royal party though under hatches, and now suffering for their loyalty, having passed and been refined in the fire of affliction must be the Men, whose unspotted fingers shall not only pull down the Idolized Babel of the Peoples imagination, but repair the decayed ruines of our broken Government, and reinstate exiled Majesty upon its throne adorned with safety, and with beauty both, and guarded with the safest strength of faithfull hearts and hands, better than walls of brass or formed troops of mercenary Souldiers.

The Leveller begins to stir.

But that time was not yet come, although the Scots sent a peculiar messenger, the Lord *Libberton* to the King, desiring him among other things, that he would please to appoint a place for a Treaty to be between his Majesty and his Kingdom of *Scotland*, which offer of theirs, was graciously accepted, and a Treaty appointed at *Breda*, on the 15th. of *March*, whither the Scots Com-

Scots send to the King.

Commissioners came the 16th. and on the 19th. fell to their business, neither would by any means relinquish their Presbytery though but in part, and as to the particular person of the King himself, whom they strongly bound up to the Covenant, Directory and Catechismes, whereto his Majesty, after many long and serious debates, having unwillingly consented. The Scots on their part did promise. 1. That his Majesty should be admitted to the throne of *Scotland*. 2. That his Rights then should be by Parliament, recovered from the hands of Usurpers, and 3. That they would assist to bring the murtherers of his Father of blessed memory, to condigne punishment, and to restore him to his Native Kingdom of *England*.

Treaty at *Bredah* concluded.

A happy, Omen, surely was this promise and undertaking hoped to be, and so indeed it might have proved, if it had been gained from any but the worst of Scotch-men, the Presbyterians, for, at the very same time as it were, when they had concluded the Treaty, and thus highly promised the King as is before mentioned, I say at the same time, having gotten the famous Marquess of *Montross* into their hand, whose only fault was Loyalty to his Prince, having brought him with as much ignominy as they could devise to *Edenburgh*, they there charge him for keeping away the King (observe the King was now upon the point of coming to them) from his subjects. 2. For the invading that Kingdom. 3. For all the murders in the war, and for wast upon *Argiles* Estate, &c.

Mark, here I pray, *Montross* must be murthered (the best subject the King had in *Scotland*) and just when the King is ready to come thither, (as if it were done in despight to him) but why? for keeping away the King? No,

Montross murthered and the reasons thereof.

No, he had promiſed to be with them with all ſpeed, which *Montroſs* in priſon could not have hindred. Was it for invaſion? alas neither, for he had none but his own Countrymen, and of them but a very few and they quickly, and eaſily defeated; what, was it for then, for muder? alas neither, what then? O! here's the Divel that murthered the famous *Montroſs*, for waſte upon *Argiles* Eſtate; *Argile*, I ſay that underminer of his Soveraign, who in a ſhort time after, upon his arrival, was by the means and inſtigation of him, upon pretence of non-performance by the King, left deſtitute either of friends (whom they baniſhed from his Court,) means, (which they curtailed him of) and ſtrength (allowing him neither a Souldier nor a gariſon, nay not a town where he might with ſafety repoſe his head); things being at this paſs, and his Majeſty with much adoe gotten into *Scotland* as aforeſaid, which the Junto at *Weſtminſter*, having perfect intelligence of, and weighing with themſelves that promiſe of the Scots, to bring the murtherers of the Kings Father, to condign puniſhment, they begin to think it high time, to provide for their own ſafety, in conſulting whereof, after much time ſpent, it is reſolved the ſafeſt, wiſeſt, and to them leaſt chargeable courſe to wait, on the Enemy in his own Country, whereby they carried the war from home, and not to ſtay for him to bring it to their own doors.

The K. in *Scotland.* held to hard meat.

As a ſtrong motive to this, juſt at the inſtant, they diſcover that many of the Presbyterians of *England*, had by their agents agreed with the Scots at *Bredah*, to re-eſtabliſh his Majeſty in all his Dominions: Whereupon many eminent perſons are ſeized on, and among them, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Mr. *Jurkſon*, Mr. *Love*, &c.

Which

Which Mr. *Love* together with one Mr. *Gibbons* suffered death together on *Towerhill*, at the earnest sute of *Cromwell*, protesting he would not march into *Scotland*, unless they were cut off: Being moved hereby as well as by their own fear and guilt, his Majesty is scarce in *Scotland*, but *Cromwell* is at the borders with 16000. Horse and Foot, on their behalf; to whom *Lesly*, *L. G.* of the horse, which were now raised, after some expostu'ations by Letters and Declarations, sends word that he is in armes upon the account of the good old cause, and not upon the account of the King, whom he cleerly disowned; *Straughan* and *Ker*, not only disown the King, but say positively they will fight against him, so that now it was not *Bellum Regale*, a war to maintain the Kings honour, and the points of the treaty, but *bellum Presbyteriale*, a war for the Kirke of *Scotland*, against the Independent faction of *England* (those two great parties being come now to a second contest for superiority) for *Leven* commanded the Foot, and *Lesly* as I said before the horse, and these two unaminously drew out against *Cromwell*, and fought him within six miles of *Edenburgh*, though to little purpose, for he immediately after became Master of the field, and took Garrisons, as fast as he came to them, defeating them at *Musselbourgh*, and pursuing them to *Pentlan-hills*, where the Scots had him in a straight, and might have destroyed him, but the certainty as they thought of the victory, caused them to delay, by which, and the fatal necessities of sickness, hunger and cold pressing upon *Cromwells* Army, made them choose rather at one fight desperately to hazard all, then timourously to become the scorn of an insulting foe, which they knew they should find: following this resolve with diligence, they whisper about

Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons* beheaded.

Cromwell invades *Scotland*.

Scots divided among themselves.

1. Fight at *Edenburgh*.

2. Fight at *Musselbourgh*.

the word to each other, in the midſt of a dark and rainy night, they crept up the hill and fell on the Scots ſo ſuddenly and beyond expectation, that they were diſordered by the firſt attempt, yet by reaſon of their multitudes, and a little courage, they held up a while, till ſurrounded on the back by *Cromwells* horſe, the Scots horſe affrighted, begin to retreat, and ſoon after to flie in good earneſt, leaving their foot to mercy, who were taken in greater numbers then the Engliſh Army conſiſted of; the Independent power by this victory being abſolute conquerors, and the Presbyterian pride laid groveling in the duſt.

3. *Dunbar* fight and totall defeat.

King in the North of *Scotl.* private.

During this quarrell between the ſaid two factions, the King (as diſowned ſo) not intereſted therein, retires firſt to St. *Johnſtons*, and after that, privately into the North of *Scotland*, where he continued, expecting what God would do for him; aſſuring himſelf that this defeat at *Dunbar* (as things then ſtood) could not be for his prejudice: which indeed, quickly fell out according to his expectation; for the Scots upon that overthrow were ſomwhat humbled in Spirit, and now began again to think of their late abuſed King, wiſhing in their hearts he were among them, (fearing to ſpeake the truth) leaſt he would have joyned with Northern and loyal Highlanders, to prevent which they ſend *M. G. Montgomery* with forces to intreat his Majeſties return, who finds him out, and affectionately delivers his meſſage: which the King received even with joyfull tears, as minding the juſtice of God upon thoſe perfidious Scots, whoſe pride in ſucceſs carried them beyond all bounds of allegiance (and like a ſtubborn child muſt be ſoundly whipt ere they will kneell and the good manners they obtain muſt be beaten into them): Yet he accepts

King ſent to and returnes.

of

of their requeſt, and accordingly goes towards them. Who but ſo good a King would have expoſed himſelf to ſuch mens truſt, in ſo dangerous a time? *Innocentia eſt ſibi munimentum*, for he reſolves to return. Upon notice hereof and his arrivall, the Parliament addreſs themſelves to him, and appoint the time for his Coronation: which was accordingly with much State, pompe and Ceremony, performed on the firſt of *January* following at *Schone*; the particulars whereof I ſhall not enter upon, ſeverall relations thereof being already extant. King crowned.

His Majeſty thus inveſted in his throne, undauntedly proceeds to ſecure both his perſon and Kingdom: to which end he begins to raiſe and levy an Army, both of horſe and foot, which in ſhort time, by the conflux of loyal hearts from all parts, became even formidable to its Enemies, eſpecially having their Prince engaged in perſon, (whoſe every hair was valued at ten thouſand lives) and an equall ſharer with them in all things. As they did encourage the hearts, and ſtrengthen the hands of all that were faithfull, ſo they were a torment of Spirit to the inſulting Enemy, who for the preſent, ſeeing that force alone would not ſerve the turn, politickly reſolves, to undermine and weaken them by diviſion among themſelves, knowing that rule to be true, *Divide & impera*, and indeed ſo it proved: for with ſo much divelliſh cunning did the Engliſh work, that they procured *Straughan* with ſome forces together with *Ker* to declare againſt the King, Laſtly with others, ſtand for Kirk and King. But *Brown*, *Middleton*, &c. with the beſt and honeſt part of the Army, vow to ſacrifice their Lives and Eſtates in defence of the Kings perſon. In this tottering and unſtable condition ſtood affairs, when *Cromwell* alwayes mindfull to lay hold on the firſt advan- K. raiſeth an army. Scots divided.

tage, and being certainly informed of the height and heat of these divisions, he takes time by the forelock, and striking while the Iron was hot, he sends to *Straughan* and wins him over to him, to fight against his lawfull Soveraign, rejoycing to have debauched such a Souldier, whose infidelity must now make him sure to *Cromwell*, not daring to rely on the good of those whom he had so trayterously deceived; the remaining two parties, continuing yet in their feuds, are at length, to prevent the destruction of both, by the care of the Parliament then sitting taken into consideration, and reconciled by the equal distribution of commands, upon the most eminent persons of both factions; under one only head and Generall commander, which was the King himself. By this union being again become considerable, yea and indeed in a posture of defence, the King deliberately sets forward toward the Enemy, who hearing of it, with more, both fury and expedition marcheth to meet him. And here you might have observed the different means used by two potent armies to destroy each other, *Cromwell* would ruine the King by fighting, the King endeavours to conquer *Cromwell* by delaying: never were *Hannibal* and *Fabius* so truly patterned as at this time, for the King knowing it to be an invading Army, took the best means to break it by delayes, getting away all provision, that the Enemy might have no forrage, and as occasion served, giving ground, till some notable advantage might be found, as might give an hopes if not an assurance of a victory; and according to expectation so had it proved, for being desirous to fight, and hearing the King intended to pass at a certain narrow Island, thither he commandeth two Regiments against whom *Brown* did march with five or six,

The royalists and Kirk reconciled.

Fight in life.

fell

fell on them, and in probability had deſtroyed them utterly, had not relief come with ſpeed, and in the nick of time, whereby after a hot and eager fight for ſome hours, both parties retreated with no ſmall loſs to either, yet ſuch was the fortune of that ambitious wretch *Cromwell*, that notwithſtanding this, and that his Majeſty had ſtill a good Army in the field, he over-ran the whole Country and conquered with leſs difficulty than he marched; which his Majeſty perceiving, he reſolves on new deſignes, and accordingly within a ſhort time, with his choyſeſt friends and the remains of his Army amounting to 16000. he privately, gives *Cromwell* the go-by, and marches by *Carliſle* into *England*: ſo have I ſeen a bird decoy the greedy fowler from her loved neſt, by a ſeeming neglect thereof in the retiring from it. K. marches into *England*.

It was generally believed that the Kings arrivall in *England* would have been a motive to all that loved him to ſtir and ſhew themſelves in armes for his defence, but ſuch was their hard fate and ſad miſery at that time, that they durſt not ſtir, the yoke lay ſo heavy, that it was impriſonment if not death, but to look towards the King, yet maugre all devices againſt him, he came through all the North into *Warrington* in *Lancaſhire*, where at a bridge the paſſage was diſputed with the Enemy, who did endeavour to break it down, but with ſuch advantage, that the Rebells were forced to fly and leave the King maſter of the place, from whence with his whole Army he marched towards *Worceſter*, where contrary to the rules, both of reaſon and war, and contrary to his own mind and reſolution, overſwayed by the treacherous Counſel and perſwaſions of ſome too neer, and in too great command about him, he ſtayed. what might be the motives to delude the King into ſuch K. wins *Warrington* bridg. Comes to *Worceſter*.

a

a trap the *L. G.* is better able to give account off than my pen; but where treason lies in the heart, there must all things of force be bad, no relations, ties, or duty can hold or convince him who hath sold his conscience. About this time, the whole Kingdom, having taken the Alarum, run in troups and multitudes, some one way, some another, severall of the Gentry, particularly the Earls of *Derby* and *Cleveland*, the Lord *Howards* Eldest Son, Collonel *Howard*, with many others bring what strengths, in such a confusion of affairs and streight of time, they could gather together, but to little purpose: for they are as it were besieged within the City of *Worcester*, all the Counties of *England* having powered out their auxiliary forces against that place, to heighten and increase whose malice *Cromwell* is sent to head them. Now might you have seen *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate* reconciled, and both against Christ: Those two restless and adverse factions, the Presbyterian and Independent faction, could joyn together, both in their armes, and prayers against his sacred Majesty, belching forth the scandalous language of their ulcerous tongues to incense the People, and bring them into frenzy against those few poor despised loyall ones, & so indeed they did; those very pretended Ministers not only preaching, but largely contributing to the raising of more forces from day to day, yea some of them going in person to assassinate the poor inclosed Royalists, who yet resolved, that though they foresaw their ruine, as not being able without a miracle to cope with such an innumerable multitude, they would sell their lives at a dear rate, and make some of the purchasers at least share in an equall fate with them, and so in truth they did. For *Cromwell* now being very neer, commands *Lambert* to take

take and ſecure *Hopton* bridge, in the defence of which paſſage *Maſſey* ſhewed both much courage and experience, though forced to retreat thence and leave the ſame unguarded, being over-powered with *Lamberts* multitudes: after which, for a Day or two, there happened diverſe Skirmiſhes with as various fortune as is uſuall at ſuch times; but *Cromwell* not brooking ſuch delayes (as fearing they might prove dangerous, if any part of his forces ſhould bethink themſelves) reſolves upon one generall attempt: and to find work for all hands, himſelf falls on upon one ſide, and *Fleetwood* on the other, ſo that now ther's nothing but rage, ſlaughter, and blood, the loyall Highlanders even ſtanding to fight when they had loſt their legs, not at all daunted at the ſeverall horrid ſhapes Death preſented himſelf to them in, but covering the ground with their ſlaughtered bodies, in death made good that place, which in life they undertook to defend: while the increaſing Enemy by his numbers, rather killing then conquering, their fear and guilt guiding them to exorbitances, which the other valiant, though dying ſouls were not capable of, proving that maxime true, that fear is farr more painfull to cowardiſe, than death to a true courage. But *Altum eſt*, their end is concluded, the decree is gone forth: ſo after ſeverall routs and rallies, a generall defeat ſucceeds with the death of between 4000. and 5000. and about 7000. or 8000. taken priſoners, the purſuite being both hotly and eagerly purſued, each villain hoping to enrich himſelf by ſeizing on the Royal pray. But Heaven had ſent a Guardian Angell to protect him, that at length he may once more come and be the reſtorer, both of our peace, Religion, and Liberty. I ſhall not mention the means were uſed, or the

Worceſter fight.

S*pirits*

Spirits which God raiſed up to be inſtrumentall, in that miraculous deliverance, let it ſuffice they have their honour and reward, and bleſs we God; who hath made us worthy to be partakers of the ineſtimable good that hath accrewed thereby, invoking Heaven to crown his life with length of dayes and health, and to ſettle his throne by a decree as unalterable as that of the Earth which cannot be moved.

Thus once more we ſee Rebellion flouriſh and applauded; for after this, the ſeeds of ambition begin to grow higher in *Cromwell*, it is not enough that his faction is the ſtrongeſt, and he the head of it, unleſs he may as well govern as command: The military ſword will not ſatisfie him, he muſt and will alſo have the civill, but as he ſees it muſt not be done raſhly or ſuddenly, leaſt he ſhould miſcarry, ſo knowing that fair and ſoftly goes farr, and *feſtinare lente* is the beſt haſt, he concludes in his heart either to have all at his own beck, or dye in the attempt; and the better to moddell his deſign according to his reſolution, he comes to the Juncto, gives them account of all his tranſactions, and ſo inſinuates into them that he gets his Son *Ireton* to be made Deputy of *Ireland*, and intruſts *Scotland* into the hand of *L. G. Moncke*, a revolted Cavalier, by which two perſons in a ſhort time he ſo roughly handled both thoſe ſaid Nations, that they were reduced to as perfect a ſlavery as could be imagined.

Cromwels policy and power.

Upon conſideration of theſe ſucceſſes on all hands, he begins now more publickly to unmask himſelf; As General he places and diſplaces Officers in the Army at his pleaſure, untill he have ſo fitted them to his own humour, that he dares begin to take them into his Councill; where the firſt thing reſolved is, ſtill to hold

up

up the mask of religion, there is no bait ſo catching to the vulgar: religion therefore muſt be cried up, methinks I ſee *Cromwell*, like *Catiline* at *Rome*, with all his crew of bankrupt and much worn Officers about him, ſpeaking to them thus. Surely I need not tell you the great things the Lord hath done for us, your ſelves are witneſſes thereunto: I confeſs, our actions ſeem not to agree to our profeſſions, but tis no matter, let People ſay what they will, ſo we be ſtill gainers, let Governments totter and fall, the whole World be made but one Enthuſiaſme, or reduced into its primitive *Chaos*, rather than we ſhall now looſe or hold, yet ſtill the mask of zeal muſt be kept on that we may not appear in our naturall colours, villains *ab origine*; By theſe and the like words is that vicious brood ſoon inſtigated to act what his ambition dares command.

Now was he grown ſo lofty and imperious that he even growes weary of the Juncto, and eſpecially becauſe they were at the preſent the main barr that hindred his greatneſs: To remove therefore that obſtacle, on the twentieth of *Aprill* 1653. early in the morning he ſeazes the keys of the Parliament houſe, ſhuts up the doors, and tells the Members that they muſt come no more there, having already ſate too long, meriting rather puniſhment than applauſe, being no other than an aſſembly of Whoremaſters, Drunkards, Hypocrites, Knaves and Oppreſſours; thus was the pretence of the Parliament taken away, and no face of Government viſibly appearing: Never was the faults of Uſurpers with more bitterneſs laid open than now by him, whom we ſhall ſhortly, as tranſcendently, to out-do them in all acts of Tyranny and Uſurpation, as the brighteſt beams of a midday ſun excell the glimmering

Long Parliament turned out.

light of a midnight candle. Tis true as *Seneca* ſaith, *Nulla tam modeſta eſt fælicitas ut malignitatis dentes vitare poſſit*, there ever was and ever will be ſome murmurers at preſent Governours, but ſo far were either they, or he from being belyed, that unleſs a Man do ſpeak all that may be imagined evill, he muſt needs fall ſhort of their wickedneſs. *Sen.* ep. 3.

The Government being thus altered, firſt by laying aſide and murthering their lawfull Soveraign, then by ſifting and purging the Parliament, till looſing its originall, it either became as nothing, or at the beſt but a Juncto, and when it would no longer ſuit with *Cromwells* ambitious ends and ſoaring thoughts, by turning it abſolutely out of doors; At laſt after much pretended ſeeking of God by dayes of humiliation, *Cromwell* forſooth is counſelled to call together an aſſembly of men, picked out and called as fit for his deſign. Theſe he ſummons together by a Letter under his hand and ſeal directed to each ſingle Man; who (in their way of canting) admiring at the great goodneſs of God, that had put it into the Generalls heart to ſelect them to ſo great a work as the ſettlement of the Kingdom, and to ſhew their skill, and as an Eſſay of their zeal, they firſt vote down all Tythes, diſcourage the Miniſtry, abuſe the Univerſities, and endeavour to aboliſh the law, and conſequently to take away all propriery. By which Acts the Nation beginning to be ſenſible of the Divel, where with they were poſſeſſed, did frown upon them, which ſo diſanimated our Fanatick Enthuſiaſts, that at the very firſt blaſt they left the helm, and like good boyes and well-taught, having drawn up formally an inſtrument under their hands and Seals, they repair to *Cromwell*, and (according as the deſign was laid) together with the

Barebones Parliament.

ſaid

ſaid inſtrument deliver and reſign the Government to him and his Councill, who (though at firſt he ſeemingly denyed) yet immediately after, with much ſolemnity he accepts thereof, before the Mayor, ſome Aldermen, ſome Judges, and the Officers of the Army. Having thus far perfected his deviliſh deſign, and made all his own, by modelling the Army under the command, of his own Creatures; ſetling the Government of *Ireland*, upon his Son *Harry*, and *Scotland* reduced to obey and ſubmit to him: It is now thought fit he ſhould declare himſelf, which to pleaſe and gull the people the better, he does by abaſing himſelf, and calling (as he termed it) a Parliament, to meet on the Third of *September* 1654. Which it did, but the poor animalls not having well conned their leſſon before-hand, were, ſuſpected dull, and turned a grazing to get more underſtanding, the very firſt inſtant he might lay hold on to do it; By which means once more all pretence of Government being utterly aboliſhed, he himſelf playes Rex, and by an arbitrary power beyond, without, and againſt, law, doeth what he liſt, by Mayor-Generals (a name in *England* unknown) oppreſſing the Country, robbing the Gentry, ſpoiling all, and murdering many, ſo that none durſt ſay what doeſt thou? A queſtion was converted into a plot, and to deny a tax merited decimation. It was not enough, to have ſuffered all former rapines, impriſonment and plunderings, fines and taxes, but at laſt we muſt all be decimated. We were *tanquam Oves* deſtined for ſlaughter, and ſuch was our miſery there was none to redeem: ſad teſtimonies whereof were *Gerard*, *Grove* and others about this time, whoſe blood only could expiate a crime they never thought or were guilty off.

They reſign to *Cromwell*

Cromwels firſt Parliament do nothing.

Major Gen. ſet up.

In this unlimited posture of arbitrary power did the the Kingdom stand, when that Arch-Machiavilian *Cromwell* adding strength to the wings of his ambitious mind soared an Eagle-height, and made all the circumference of his actions to center at the royall State, thinking with a grasp of the Scepter to ennoble his name and family, not minding either the danger of the passage or the slipperiness of the station, when arrived at the top: And indeed such was his fortune that he did ascend the throne, in which it was for the future, his restless endeavour to settle himself and his posterity, and the better to cast a seeming gloss of legality upon his usurpation, he summons another Parliament, in the Year 1656. hoping thereby to work his ends unseen, and so he did (as to the vulgar eye) for soon after their meeting and first triall of their temper, he so moulds them to his own humour by a recognition, that they are overhastily delivered of a strange abortion, by them called the petition and advice, &c. in which with much solemnity, though damnable hypocrisie, they desire him to be King, but in more general terms to take upon him the government, and be chief Magistrate, which he very gravely considering of diverse dayes, returnes his denyall, in part, but withall insinuates in part, his willingness to be setled Lord Protector, at which newes his faction rejoycing, (with many Eulogies for his humility in refusing the Kingship) he is by the said Parliament, who adjourned for the same end, solemnly installed Protector at *Westminster* by *Widdrington*, who was the Speaker to that convention, by *Whitlock*, *Lisle*, *Warwick*, &c. And upon their resisting, he is petitioned to accept of almost two millions, by the year for his support, to maintain a crew of idle wenches his daug-

Cromwels second Parliament confirm him as Protector.

daughters, whose pampered lusts were grown almost insatiable) 2. To erect a new house of Lords of his own Creatures, who being indebted to him for their raising, durst do no other than by a slavish submission, perform his tyrannous will, 3. To name his successor, that so he might entail his yoke of tyrannical Usurpation and slavish oppression on the Kigdom, and severall other things: which with much adoe, after many perswasive intreaties and much unwillingness, God knowes) he accepts of.

The said Parliament dissolved.

No sooner is this done, but the fox laughs in his sleeve to see how he has cheated the Parliament. And therefore to make them know their rider, after a few words of exhortation to them of the want of them in the Country, and the necessity of their retiring thither for the peace of the Nation, with a friendly nod he dismisseth them and sends them home.

Cromwell seeks to strengthen himself.

Thus with much cunning and dissimulation having attained the perfection of his desires, knowing that such greatness must be upheld with allies, and every noble coat of armes must have his supporters, he strengthens himself at home, by intermixing with noble blood marrying own of his Daughters to the Lord *Faulconbridge*, and an other to the heir apparent of the Earldom of *Warwick*, the later of which though in the prime of his youth, finding the disagreement between Noble and Rebell blood, was soon over-heated and by the suddenness of his death left his wife the widow of a loathed bed. In the next place he seeks friendships and leagues abroad, and intending to close with *France*, he directly quarrels with the *Spanyard*, and affronts him in severall places near about one time, particularly he sends one part of the Fleet under the command

He closeth with *France*.

of

of *Pen* to *Hiſpaniola*, but with ſo little diſadvantage that he was enforced to retreat thence, with no ſmall loſs, falling ſoon after on *Jamaica* with better ſucceſs, winning a part thereof, though moſt inconſiderable, the whole Iſland being not worth the tenth part of the blood and treaſure it hath coſt this Kingdom, being no way at all ſerviceable, either for the advance or ſecurity of trade in thoſe parts; *Mazarine* in *France*, finding the benefit of theſe helps, upon the very firſt motion ſtrikes with him a league offenſive and defenſive, *Cromwell* promiſing to aſſiſt the French with 7000. Men to maintain the war againſt the *Flanders*: which at this time he ſent, they proving ſo helpfull by their valour, that in a ſhort time they gain *Mardike*, *Gravelin*, and *Dunkirke*, the laſt of them according to articles, being delivered up to the Engliſh, in whoſe hand it yet remains. In the *interim* while theſe things were tranſacting, *Cromwell* ſuſpicious of every blaſt of wind, and fearfull of every motion, contrives in himſelf to take off two or three of the moſt eminent of the Kings party in *England* to daunt the reſt, among whom he ſeparates one layman, Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and one Churchman, Dr. *Hewit*, for the ſlaughter: and conſcious to himſelf that they had done nothing contrary to the law of the land, he durſt not try them by a Jury, but re-erects his monſtrous high Court of Juſtice; before which being brought, they denyed the authority thereof as unwarrantable, which ſo wrought upon the patience of Mr. *Liſle* their bloodily learned Preſident and the reſt of the gange, that they (according as they were foreinſtructed by their Maſter Divell *Oliver*) without any great matter of circumſtance condemne them both to be beheaded, which ſentence was accordingly executed,

Dunkirke gained.

Dr. *Hewits* death.

on

on them the 8th. Day of *June* at *Towerhill*, notwithstanding all the means their friends could use of engagements, perswasions and money, and the deep, earnest and continued intreaties, sollicitations and supplications of Mrs. *Claypoole* his best beloved daughter, for so inexorable he continued, that like the deaf adder he stopped his ears to the charmer, charme he never so wisely: at which unheard of cruelty, and for that Dr. *Hewits* Lady (as is said) was then with child, Mrs. *Claypoole* took such excessive grief, that she suddenly fell sick, the increase of her sickness making her rave in a most lamentable manner, calling out against her Father for *Hewits* blood and the like, the violence of which extravagant passions working upon the great weakness of her body, carried her into another World, even at the heighest thereof. Mrs. *Claypooles* death.

No sooner did *Cromwell* receive the deplorable newes of this sad death of his Daughter, but himself falls into a desperate melancholly, which never left him till his Death, which was not long after. Give me leave here to relate a passage which I received from a Person of Quality, *Viz.* It was believed, and that not without some good cause, that *Cromwell* the same morning that he defeated the Kings Army at *Worcester* Fight, had conference personally with the Divell, with whom he made a contract, that to have his will then, and in all things else for seven years after from that time (being the Third of *September* 1651.) he should at the expiration of the said years have him at his command, to do at his pleasure, both with his soul and body. Now if any one will please to reckon from the third of *September*, 1651. till the Third of *September*, 1558. he shall find it to a Day just seven years and no more, at Observe. *Cromwels* death.

at the end whereof he dyed but with such extremity of tempestuous weather, that was, by all men judged to be prodigious, neither indeed was his end more miserable, (for he dyed mad and despairing) than he hath left his name infamous; this was the end of our English *Nero*, and thus having laid the best foundations, his short and troublesome Reign would give leave to have continued his posterity in the same unlimited Dominion, at his death, (*si ullasides viris, qui castra sequuntur*) declaring his eldest Son *Richard* his successour in his Usurpation. Leaving his Son *Henry* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and his Daughter *Fleetwood*, married to the Commander in chief of the Army under himself, and the only Man suspected for a Competitour in the Protectorship, for *Lambert* had been laid aside long before as a person of too dangerous and aspiring principles to be trusted.

Richard Cromwell Protector.

Richard Cromwell presently ascends the Throne, being but a private Gentleman of *Hampshire*, invited thereunto and incouraged by *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, *Sydenham*, the two *Jones*, *Thurloe*, and others, the relations and confidents of his Father: His first work is to take care for his Fathers Funerall, his corps being shortly after interred among the Kings and Queens at *Westminster*, at a farr* greater charge than had been used upon like occassions in the richest times, death giving him that honour which he aspired to, but durst not embrace in his life time, which solemity past, by the contrivance of the new Courtiers, congratulations are sent (prepared at *Whitehall*) from most of the Counties, Cities & chief Townes of *England*. And from the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, & *Ireland*, with engagements to live and dye with him. Addresses from the Independent Churches, by Mr. *Goodwine* and *Nye*, their Metropolitans, and was indeed worshipped by many

*29000 l.

many as the riſing Sun in our Horizon.

This Introduction being made for transferring the Government of theſe Nations, from the Royal family of the *Stewarts* to that upſtart of the *Cromwells*: it was thought fit, that a generall Convention, after the manner of a Parliament wiſely choſen by influences from *Whitehall* ſhou'd be called, to meet the twenty ſeventh of *January*, and (upon pretence of reſtoring the people to their antient way of Elections, but reall) that the Court might command the more votes, the *Burroughs* alſo had writs ſent to them, and the Elections were all made in the antient way, only thirty members were called by writs from *Scotland*, and as many from *Ireland*, according to the late combination of the three Nations into one Common-wealth. *Di ſs* Parliament now modell'ed.

This new kind of Parliament being met at the time and place appointed, God who had ſo well ordered the Elections, notwithſtanding the practices of Men, that their Engliſh Spirit quickly appeared againſt Impoſitions, both from Court and Army, which being diſcerned by the Protector and his Grandees, a Recognition is ſent to them to be drawn into a bill, the debate whereof taking up a whole fourtnights time, and they ſtill remaining in a great ſtreight, till, by the expedient of an honeſt Gentleman, they were extricated thence by paſſing theſe votes on *Munday* the 14th. of *February*, 1658. without any diviſion or negative. Act of Recognition.

Reſolved, *that it be part of this Bill to Recognize and declare his Highneſſe* Richard *Lord Protector, and chiefe Magiſtrate of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland, *and*

Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging,*

Reſolved, *that before this Bill be committed, the Houſe do declare ſuch additionall clauſes to be part of this Bill, as may, bound the power of the chief Magiſtrate, and fully ſecure the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberties and Rights of the People, and that neither this nor any other previous vote, that is, or ſhall be, paſſed in order to this Bill, ſhall be of force, or binding to the People, till the whole Bill be paſſed.*

Committee of inſpection. This done, a Committee of Inſpections is appointed to take a view of the accounts and revenue of the Commonwealth, & twelve Members verſed in matters of account, were ſelected and fully impowered for that work, in order to the leſſening the charge of the Common-wealth.

On *Saturday* the 19th. of *February*, they re-aſſumed the debate upon the Act of Recognition and reſolved. That it be part of the bill to declare the Parliament to conſiſt of two houſes: after which they fell upon the point of bounding the chiefe Magiſtrates power and the bounds and powers of the other houſe, the Protectors party ſtanding for the powers, given by the Petition and advice, and the reſt of the houſe withſtood it as of no value being obteined by force, by which force alſo thirteen hundred thouſand pounds a year was ſetled

Parl. to conſiſt of two houſes.

for

for ever upon the ſingle perſon: and the ruling members of the other houſe, being a hotch potch or medley of Officers of the Army, and Protectorian Courtiers, contrary to the law of the land, and to the enſlaving of the people. By this means nothing being done herein as to the powers, the *Cromwelians*, that they might enforce ſomething, propoſe the queſtion of tranſacting with the perſons ſitting in the other houſe as an houſe of Parliament, urging both law and neceſſity for the ſame, yea threatning force from the Army upon refuſall; notwithſtanding all which a whole fornight the honeſt party of the Houſe thought of nothing leſs, aſſerting the undoubted Right of the antient Peers, and denying all the reſt, but ſeeing nothing could be done till this was over, in a very full houſe they came at laſt to this well qualified reſolve.

The other houſe debated.

Reſolved.

That this Houſe will tranſact with the Perſons now ſitting in the other houſe, as an houſe of Parliament, during this preſent Parliament. And that it is not hereby intended to exclude ſuch Peers as have been faithfull to the Parliament, from their priviledge of being duly ſummoned to be Members of that houſe.

Herein may be ſeen ſomething of the old Engliſh gallantry, for in this vote thoſe in the other Houſe are not owned as Lords, (but called the Perſons now ſitting in the other Houſe as an houſe of Parliament) neither

Not owned as Lords.

ther would the Commons treat and confer with them in the usuall way, as with the house of Peers, but found out a new word (to transact) and that neither but upon tryall, *Viz.* during this present Parliament. And the better and more legally to curbe them if they should begin to grow imperious, they inserted the priviledge of the antient Peers as a good reserve, concluding also to receive no message from them, but by some of their own number.

The intent of that Parament.

During this time, they had under consideration severall good Acts about the Militia, against Excise, concerning Customes, &c. and questioned diverse illegall imprisonments, calling some Jaylors to the Bar, and preparing a strict bill to prevent the unlawfull sending Freeborn Englishmen against their wills to be slaves in forreign Plantations; They also examined severall grievances, by the Farmers of the Excise, Major Generalls, and tyrannicall, and exorbitant Courts of Justice. The Committee of Inspections having by this time brought in their report by which it did appear, that the yearly incomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, came to Eighteen hundred sixty eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds, and the yearly Issues to, Two Millions, two hundred and one thousand, five hundred and forty pounds. So that, Three hundred, thirty two thousand eight hundred twenty three pounds of debt incurred yearly by the ill management of double the revenew that ever any King of *England* enjoyed: And to maintain the unjust conquest of *Scotland* cost us yearly, One hundred sixty three thousand six hundred and nineteen pounds more than the revenew of it yields.

Committee of inspections report.

At these proceedings the Protector and the Army, who

who were already jealous of one another, grew both ſuſpicious of the Parliament, becauſe the people begin to ſpeake as if they expected great good from the iſſue of their Counſells, therefore the Army, ⟨ leaſt they ſhould come too late ⟩ put in for to get the power into their hands, and according to the method uſed by them in like caſes, erect a Generall Councill of Officers who daily meet at *Wallinford-houſe*, which the Protector hearing, endeavours to countermine at *Whitehall*; but they, better skilled in their work than he was, conclude a repreſentation, which is with ſpeed both drawn and preſented to him about the ſeventh of *April*, a copy whereof the next day after is ſent encloſed by him in a Letter to the Speaker of the Houſe: who hereupon takes the Alarum, and while the Protector thinks to ſecure himſelf by ſtanding on his guard, they not fearing the menaces of the Souldiers, but reſolving to behave themſelvs like true Engliſhmen, on *Munday* the 18th. of *Aprill* paſſed theſe votes following.

Divisions between the Protector Praliament and Army.

Reſolved,

That during the ſitting of the Parliament, there ſhould be no generall Concill or meeting of the Officers of the Army without direction, leave and Authority of his Higneſs the Lord Protector, and both houſes of Parliament.

Reſolved,

That no perſon ſhall have and continue any command, or truſt in any of the Armies,

or

or Navies of England, Scotland, or Ireland, *or any the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe. That he will not disturbe or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament, of any the members of either house of Parliament, or their freedom in their debates and Counsells.*

Now that this bitter pill might be the easier swallowed, knowing, or at least believing that want of money was the thing that pinched in chief as to the private Souldier, (without whom the Officer was worthless) they passed a vote to take into consideration how to satisfie the Arrears of the Army, and provide present pay for them, and also to prepare an Act of Indempnity for them. But all this tended nothing to satisfaction, for the Souldier being through Levened with the wicked designes of their Officers, did nothing but murmur, especially since the Protector in pursuance of the votes of the house had forbidden the meetings of the Officers; so that now the animosities grew so high, that guards were kept night and day by one againſt the other, in which divided posture the management of affairs, continued till *Friday* the 22. of *April*, on which day early in the Morning, *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and the rest of the Mutinous Officers, with the greatest part of the Army at their beck, the *Cromwelian* party not daring to stir, got the supereminency, and forced young *Richard* to consent to a commission and Proclamation ready prepared, thereby giving power to certain therein named to dissolve the Parliament, although he had with much

Dicks Parliament dissolved.

much ſerious earneſtneſs proteſted and promiſed, rather to dye than be guilty of ſo puſillaminous an act, which he was well aſſured would work for his confuſion. But *actum eſt*, for the ſame day the black rod was ſent twice to the houſe of Commons to go to the other houſe, which they refuſed and ſcorned, but underſtanding there were guards of horſe and foot in the Pallace yard, after ſome ebullient motions, without reſolving any queſtion, they adjourned till *Munday* morning, the five and twenty of *April*, and with much courage and reſolution attended the Speaker in order through *Weſtminſter-Hall* to his Coach, even in the face of the Souldiery.

The Army having thus for the preſent miſſed their deſign, reſolve no longer to dally; whereupon they, lay aſide their new Mr. *Richard*, and all the Officers, great and ſmall with one conſent, take the Government into their own hands, having ſhut up the houſe of Commons door, whither when the Members came on *Munday*, entrance was denyed them by the Souldiers, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Court of requeſts and all avenues in all places, giving no other account to the Members than this, *Viz.* They muſt ſit no more.

The next meeting of Officers new modelleth themſelves, ſome they caſheire as *Whaly*, *Ingoldsby*, *Goffe*, &c. others they re-admit, as *Lambert*, *Haſelrig*, *Okey*, and others, in which time not knowing how to behave themſelves in ſuch a condition, and weary of the perpetuall toyle they foreſaw, they muſt ſtill with ceaſing undergo; they mean to caſt the burthen off from their own ſhoulders, and to that purpoſe they ſend to ſome of their old hackney drudges of the long Parliament, (as they then did call it) at that time about *London*, whoſe. The Army new modelled. The Rump comes in.

whose consciences they knew would digest any thing, and did not care how, *per fas aut nefas*, so they might again be suffered to sit, with severall of these, I say, upon the fifth and sixth dayes of *May* they had conference, the last of which was at their never failing Speakers, the Master of the Rowles house in *Chancery-Lane*, where both Officers of the Army, and pretended Members, to the number of twenty sollicited *William Lenthall* Esquire to sit Speaker again, but he objected diverse scruples in judgment and conscience: (But O how soon had the sweet ambition of domineering obliterated all such idle fancies?) yet nevertheless instantly fifteen Articles being agreed upon among themselves, they conclude to meet in the house on *Saturday* the 7th. day of *May*, and the better to compass their ends by a base and clandestine surprise, they gave out that they would not sit till *Tuesday* the tenth of *May*, yet surreptitiously, as I say, they met early on *Saturday* in the painted Chamber at *Westminster* and wanting of their number to make up a house, they sent for those two debauched lustfull Devills; the Lord *Munson*, and *Harry Martin* out of prison, where they were in Execution for debt, with *Whitelock*, and *Lisle* of the Chancery Court, making in all forty two, the Chancery Mace also for hast being carried before them, *William Lenthall* Esq. their tender conscienc'd Speaker, together with the said

Names of the Rumpers.

L. *Munson.*
Henry Martin.
Mr. *Whitlock.*
Mr. *Lisle.*
Mr. *Thomas Chaloner.*
Alderman *Atkins*
Alderman *Penington.*
Thomas Scot.
Cornelius Holland.
Sir *Henry Vane.*
Mr. *Prideaux* Att. Ge
Sir *James Harrington.*
L. G.

L. G. *Ludlow.*
Michael Oldſworth.
Sir *Arthur Haſelrig.*
Mr. *Jones.*
Col. *Purefoy.*
Col. *White.*
Harry Nevill.
Mr. *Say.*
Mr. *Blagrave.*
Col. *Bennet*
M. *Brewſter.*
Sergeant *Wilde.*
John Goodwin.
Mr. *Nich. Lechmore.*
Auguſtine Skinner.
Mr. *Downes.*
Mr. *Dove.*
Mr. *John Lenthall.*
Mr. *Saloway.*
Mr. *John Corbet.*
Mr. *Walton.*
Gilbert Willington.
Mr. *Gold.*
Col. *Sydenham.*
Col. *Bingham.*
Col. *Ayre.*
Mr. *Smith.*
Col. *Ingoldsby.*
And Lieutenant Generall *Fleetwood.*

Stole on a ſudden into the houſe, the invitation of the Army for ſitting of the long Parliament being firſt publiſhed in *weſtminſter-Hall.*

Upon notice of this ſurpriſe of the houſe by ſo few, there being more than double the like number of members of the ſame Parliament there, and about town, ſome of them at the ſame inſtant in the Hall, they to prevent future miſchief, (whereof this packing of Parliament men was an ill Omen) to the number of fourteen, went immediately into the Lobby, and the perſons that did ſo were theſe, *Viz.*

Secluded members.

Mr. *Anſlewy.*
Sr. *George Booth.*
Mr. *James Harbet.*
Mr. *Prinne.*
Mr. *George Montague.*
Sir *John Evelin.*
Mr. *John Harbert.*
Mr. *Gewen.*
Mr. *Evelin.*
Mr. *Knightly.*
Mr. *Clive.*
Mr. *Hungerford.*
Mr. *Harbey.*
Mr. *Pecke.*

But aſſoon as they came near the door, they were not ſuffered by the Officers of the Army to go into the houſe, though they diſputed their priviledge of ſitting, (if the Parliament were not diſſolved) but reaſon not prevailing, after they had thus fairly made their claim they retired, reſolving to acquaint the Speaker by letter of their uſage. And accordingly on *Munday* the 9th. of *May* they went to *Weſtminſter*, where the guards being not yet come, Mr. *Anſley*, Mr. *Prinne*, and Mr. *Hungerford*, went freely into the houſe, receiving the Declaration of the 7th. of *May* at the door, But *Mr. Anſley* walking down into the Hall, (the houſe not being ready to ſit) at his return was by one Capt. *Lewſon* of *Goffes* Regiment and other officers denyed entrance, Mr. *Prinne* continued within and reſolved ſo to do, ſince he ſaw there a new force upon the houſe, whoſe only ſtaying (ſo guilty were the reſt of their evill actions) made them looſe that morning, and adjourn without the Speakers taking the chair. And to prevent his or any other honeſt mans coming in among them, after that they barred the door by the following Vote.

Vote againſt the ſecluded members.

Ordered.

That ſuch perſons heretofore, Members of this Parliament, as have not ſate in this Parliament, ſince the year 1648. *And have not ſubſcribed the engagement in the Roll of engagement of this Houſe, ſhall not ſit in this houſe till further order of the Parliament.*

Thus

Thus (to the griefe of all honeſt and true hearted Chriſtians) the ſame pretended Parliament that was ſitting in 1653. (till *Oliver* diſſeized them) ſitting again in 1659. upon a Declaration of the Army, with the ſame reſolutions they had before, minding nothing but prefering one another, and their friends into good Offices and commands, and Counſellors places, as appears by their Vote of the 29th. of *May*, *Viz.*

The good old cauſe what.

The Parliament doth declare, that all ſuch as ſhall be employed in any place of truſt or power in the Common-wealth, be able for the diſcharge of ſuch truſt, and that they be perſons fearing God, and that have given teſtimony to all the people of God, and of their faithfulneſs to this Common-wealth, according to the Declaration of Parliament of the 7th. *of* May.

Now who they mean by perſons fearing God in their canting language, by their very next work you ſhall ſee, which is the nominating a Councill of State, into whoſe hands is given the diſpoſe of all places of truſt and profit, yea and the command of the wealth of the Kingdom; thoſe of the houſe are as follow.

Councill of State nominated.

Sir *Arthur Haſelrig.*
Sir *Henry Vane.*
Ludlow.
Jo. Jones.
Sydenham.
Scot.
Salaway.
Fleetwood.

Sir *James Harrington.*	*Sydney.*
Col. *Walton.*	Col. *Thomſon.*
Nevill.	Col. *Dixwell.*
Chaloner.	Mr. *Reignolds.*
Downes.	*Oliver* St. *Johns.*
Whitlock.	Mr. *Wallop.*
Harb. Morley.	

Of Perſons without the houſe Ten. *Viz.*

John. Bradſhaw.	Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper.*
Col. *Lambert.*	Sir *Horatio Townſend.*
Desborow.	Sir *Robert Honywood.*
Fairfax.	Sir *Archibald Johnſon.*
Berry.	And *Joſia Berners.*

Who under the maſk of the good old cauſe began now to act as high villains as ever before; having forgotten how juſtly they formerly had been laid aſide, but they are like the dog that returnes to his vomit, and with the ſow that is waſhed, to her wallowing in the mire.

The good old cauſe what it is.

And the better to caſt a ſeeming gloſs over the foulneſs of their actions, and their clandeſtine intruſion into the Government, they ſend forth a Declaration in print, the particulars whereof might very well have been here obſervable, if they had not already been ſo cleerly demonſtrated, by the laborious pen of learned Mr. *William Prinne*, in his book entituled, The Republicans good old cauſe ſtated; having therein ſo fully detected them, that there remains nothing more to be ſaid in the ſame matter.

Remainder of 1Crown ands to be ſold.

And now, as if already they had not waſted enough, by expoſing to ſale the Kings, Queens, Princes, Nobles and

and Gentries, Lands and Goods, being very quick ſighted, and of a long and large memory, whereby they knew all was not ſold: therefore about the beginning of *June*, to ſhew us further what they meant by the good old cauſe, they ordered the bill for publick ſales to be brought in; A ſweet act, to enrich the ſaints, as they in their canting language called themſelves; but their neceſſities (by the long deteining of the publick purſe from them) being grown very preſſing, and though they thought the money ariſing from thoſe ſales would be ſure, yet for their preſent urgencies (not being able to ſtay till that could be raiſed) they appointed the ſame afternoon to conſider of a more ſpeedy way for raiſing money, for that was all they ever aimed at, or hoped for, and to this purpoſe a bill of Aſſeſſement is concluded the moſt fitting: And becauſe they would leave no ſtone unturned, from which they might hope gain, ſee how ingeniouſly they can project, making an order to the Committee of inſpection (a precious crew) to take ſpeciall care that ſuch perſons who have aſſumed the titles of Honour, Dignities and precedencies heretofore conferred on them by the late King, ſince the ſame were taken away by act of this preſent Parliament, do pay the ſeverall ſummes of money by them forfeited, and that the ſaid Committee do alſo examine whether they have brought in their Patents, and to report how the ſaid monies may be employed to the beſt advantage of the Common-wealth, and to offer an act to take away all honours conferred by the late Kings Son. Was there ever ſuch a piece of unſeemly inconſiſtency, that the Fountain of honour ſhould be debarred of its ſpring by a company of peaſants, whoſe Acts were no better than of an aſſembly of

Quærenda pecunia primum eſt.

Honours given by the late King or his Son to be null.

of rogues at beggars bush; but would you know why they were so much troubled; 'twas precedency that stuck in their stomachs, those noble souls went before them both in honour and honesty therefore seeing they could not hinder them from being called Lords by others, yea the generality, they lay it as a crime of pride upon them, that they did assume such titles, for which imaginary fault they must pay the summes forfeited for such insolence against their Rumpships. O this *Auri sacra fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogit*, what will it not make them do? They first must pay, then bring in their Patents, otherwise pay again: thus the Divel rangeth, fiercest, when his time is most short; for so generally was theirs hoped to be, in regard they and their Masters of the Army could not cotton together, being already alarumed from them by a petition and address, yet they grew a little more confident upon the newes of *Harry Cromwells* submission, and falling down to worship the image which they had set up, *Moncke* also having about the same time, sent them the resolutions of himself and his Army to adhere to them, as a testimony whereof he informed them of a design of an Agent from the King of Scots (as they called him) which his diligence and care in the Highlands had prevented.

The Army fright the Grandees.

Money matters only taken notice of.

These newes so animated our Juncto, that thinking all cocksure, they fall to their old Trade of raising money. First by assessments, then by continuing the Excise and Customes untill the first of *October*, and lastly by ordering the Trustees for sale of Crown Lands, forthwith to proceed to the sale of all computed within the Act for sale thereof, and that they take care of the profits arising from the same, for the use of the Common-wealth till sale thereof be made. Mo-

Money being thus taken care for to be raised by all means, suddenly after by a Vote they revive the Committee for plundered Ministers (or rather for plundering ministers) that so they may also provide them of hacknies who shall infuse into the people strange Enthusiastick wayes of Government. It was not enough with *Jeroboam* to cause a generall rebellion, but with him also to uphold it, they make of the lowest and basest of the people, Priests of their high places, for whom the old way of tythes is not thought good enough, it was consulted how a more equall and comfortable maintenance might be setled on the ministry for satisfaction of the people, whom thus intending to lull asleep: they resolve to advance their own safety by colloguing with the land forces with promises of sudden pay, and strengthening the Navy by impressing Seamen, which about this time, in *June* they were about, And lest they should be wanting to themselves in any thing, mercenary drudges of the Juncto begin to take upon them as may appear by this order.

Plundered Ministers and Tythes.

Seamen to be impressed.

22. *June.* 1659

By the Contractors for sale of Crown Lands.

Crown lands exposed.

These are to give you notice, that Somerset-house *with the Appertenances, and* Hampton-Court *with the parker, &c. Thereunto belonging, are speedily to be exposed to sale, and that the Contractors intend to sit on* Wednesday *next the* 29. *instant, to take in desires of such as intend the purchase of*

any

any part of Somerset-House, *and on* VVednesday *the* 6th. *of* July, *the desires of any that intend the purchase of any part of* Hampton-Court, *the premises are to be sold for ready money.*

Will. Tayler *Clark attending the said Contractors.*

Indeed the last clause for ready money was very necessary, as affairs then stood, for the Grandees at *Westminster*, having only wasted and imbezelled the rest by divisions and sharings among themselves and friends, with no advantage to the publick Exchequer, they would now seem to begin to amend, but it is according to the Proverbe like sowre ale in Summer, for they intended nothing less than increasing the publick stock, but rather by augmenting and converting it to their own use, make a hoped provision against an ensuing storm, which they foresaw would ere long fall upon them without any means of prevention: yet resolving to share the spoil as long as they could, at *Midsummer*, they re-made their everlasting Speaker, *Custos rotulorum*, of *Oxford* and *Berkshires*. And that worshipfull Judas, Sir *H. Mildmay*, *Custos rotulorum* for *Essex*, with severall other the like places to diverse of their leading members, as the Government of *Jersey* to Col. *Mason*, and severall Regiments in *Ireland* to Col. *Cooper*, Col. *Zankey*, Col. *Sadler*, and Col. *Laurence*.

Offices bestowed and on whom.

H. *Cromwell* leaves *Ireland.*

Having proceeded on thus far successfully, they now begin to clap their wings as invincible, *Ireland* being de-

delivered up wholly and quietly into their power by that pitifull cowardly Impe *H. Cromwell* who had already attended their pleaſure at the Commons bar, for which good ſervice they ſtroaked him on the head, told him he was a good boy, for which kindneſs he buſſed his hand, made a leg and *Exit.*

But leave we him to ſtupid folly, and let us ſee what rates Crown land bears, the Contractors lately were very buſie, and behold the product.

June. 29. 1659.

By the Truſtees and Contractors appointed by Act of Parliament, for ſale of the Caſtles, parkes, &c. exempted from ſale by a former Act.

Theſe are to give notice, that there are Competitors for the purchaſe of Somerſet-Houſe, *with the Appurtenances in the* Strand, Middleſex, *which therefore is to be expoſed to ſale for ready money, by the box to be opened on* Friday, *the eight of* July *next. The annuall value being* 233. l. *the groſs value of materialls, &c.* 5545. *l.* 1. *ſ.* 3. *d. At which time ſuch as deſire to purchaſe the ſame may put in their papers with their name ſubſcribed into the box aforeſaid at* VVorſeſter-

Sommerſet-houſe ſet to ſale &c.

Houſe, *conteining how many years purchaſe, (not under 13.) they will give for the annuall value, &c. and he that offers moſt is to have the purchaſe.*

VVill. Tayler *Clarke, &c.*

At the ſame time they appointed to ſell ten brace of Buckes, or more out of *Hampton-Court* Parkes, and ſo from time to time.

Thus did they ſtrive to make havock of wharever belonged to the King, which indeed, and no other, was the good (or rather curſed) old cauſe that theſe miſcreants ſo luſtily fought for, and ſo loudly cryed up.

And now, leſt they ſhould ſeem ingratefull to *Richard Cromwell*, who had ſo tamely left the chair of State to theſe Mountebanks to ſit in: they vote him an exemption from all arreſts, for any debt whaſoever, for ſix moneths, and appoint a Committee to examine what was due, for mourning for the late Lord Generall *Cromwell*, and to conſider how it may be paid for, without charge to the Common-wealth.

R. Cromwell protected.

Kind Gentlemen ſurely they are, they take all he hath from him, and then allow him a penſion; they rob him of a pound and give him a farthing, not a feather of his own bird, and well ſo too: for his ambitious ſtepping into the royall ſeat, deſerved a greater puniſhment, which 'twas a wonder how he eſcaped, ſince Uſurpation and Tyranny in different hands are generally vehement ſcourges to each other, and alwayes torments to themſelves; as will appear by the ſequel.

For

For these godly great ones, being now newly warm in their seats, begin (as of old) to dream of Jealousies and fears: Plots, Plots, nothing but Cavaleer plots rings either in their ears or mouths: if two Gentlemen do but meet accidentally in the Street, and talk together, straight there is a confederacy, and they must be committed to prison for doing nothing, so that we might say with that Noble Romane *Cicero*, *Circumspice omnia membra Reipublicæ, quæ nobilissima sunt: nullum reperitur profecto quod non fractum, debilitatumve sit. O rem miseram! dominum ferre non potuimus, conservis vero jam servimus.* A sad cause of complaint, to live in such a slavery; but our Taskmasters would fain seem mercifull, witness their Act of Indemnity, which came out in print about *July*, wherein they except none from pardon but only such whose consciences are not large enough to approve of open Rebellion, as the last clause of their said mock-Act will shew, wherein all are debarred the benefit of the same, even from sixteen years of age, unless they subscribe against a single person, Kingship or house of Peers; all sins can be digested by these fellowes, except lawfull obedience to magistracy, which they so abominate that all persons that are tainted therewith must not only depart out of *London*, but out of *England*, in either whereof if they be taken, they shall be proceeded against as Traytors: and all persons are impowered to take and apprehend them, for encouragement of which roguery every one that discovers, or takes such a person was to have ten pounds from the Councill of State; Surely they are in a great fear, else what should they make all this noise, and bustle so furiously on a sudden, to settle and raise a new militia, but *latet anguis in herba*, for now (it being

New plots and jealousies.

Act of indemnity pardons all but Cavaliers.

the Dog-dayes) the house grew so hot, that diverse members withdrew, whereby the rest in regard of their fewness, being become incapable to act, because not enough to make up a house, according to their own phantastical modell on *Friday* 22. of *July* did Resolve.

Members to attend.

That the Members of Parliament, who have had Letters to attend the service of the Parliament, or have actually attended since the 7th. of May, 1659. *be hereby injoyned to give their attendance in Parliament every Morning at eight of the clock, for fourteen dayes, and if employed by Parliament, within a fourtnight.*

Alas, poor men, the harvest truly was great, but the labourers few; therefore it was time to call for more help, for which now they are so put to it, that they hardly know which way to turn themselves: they complain of designes, & of buying up of Armes to disturbe the peace, which made a great one among them say, this restless Spirit of the common Enemy should excite the friends of the Common-wealth to diligence and to study unity, that advantage may not be given by divisions, but that we may be all of one Spirit to uphold and promote the common cause that hath been contended for. And the better to colour their villanies (according to their usuall custome in like cases when they had mischief to do) they set apart a day of fasting and humiliation; and to shew that they were the same men and of the same (if not worse) mind than formerly for rapine and blood, they pro-

A fasting day set apart for mischief.

proclaim *J. Mordant* Esquire, with severall others traytors; and order the Lady *Howard*, Sr. E. *Byron*, and Mr. *Sumner*, to be brought to a speedy triall, for dangerous and trayterous designes, of bringing this Nation into blood and confusion again: that is for endeavouring to restore his Sacred Majesty to his lawfull birthright and dominions, for which the whole current of the law is constant encourager; although these mens effrontery is such, that they dare say any thing by an infallible Spirit as they imagine, and the World is bound to believe them. But their vizor being now ready to fall off, and the people not willing to be any longer blinded, begin to move in most parts of *England*, which so mads the Phanatick faction, that they seaze upon persons, horses, and armes all about *London*, increase and double their guards, stop passengers, even on the Road, the Councill of State (so called) sits night and day without intermission, whereby the City militia and all the forces throughout *England* were drawn into a body to prevent the danger. Yea so generall was the fear that they begin to court the people in their canting way. Commotions.

And because you shall see their desperate fear of, and divellish malice to, the King and his Friends, take the words of one of themselves as they pass, *Viz. The Lord stir up the hearts of his people to prayer and sincere humiliation, and fill them with unanimity and courage in this evill time, and make the People to see, that whatever fair pretences may be made use of by the common Enemy, to get power into their hands, yet should they prevail, no man that hath been of a party against them heretofore, yea no man that hath been a meer Neuter, but must expect that his private Estate, as well as the publick Liberty, shall become a prey;* A canting lye.

prey to a desperate crew of ravenous and unreasonable men: for (saith he) like an irreverent Villain) let but CHALES STUART *get in, and then to satisfie the rable of followers, and the payment of forreyners to enslave you, you shall soon see them entailed upon your selves and your Posterity, to maintain the pompe and pride of a luxurious Court, and an absolute Tyranny.* Thus far he, which how much truth, yea or but probability thereof is therein; I dare appeal to the greateſt Enthuſiaſt among their whole gange: for if there were nothing in it elſe but the rayling (beſides all the falſity and Scandall) it were ſufficient to convince the Speaker to be a Son of *Beliall*, as having ſo far forgotten grace, and laid a ſide all honeſty, that he durſt rail againſt the Lords anointed, concerning whom the Scripture forbiddeth to have an evill thought, but tis the cuſtom of rebells to go on from bad to worſe, and when they have once drawn the ſword againſt their Prince, to throw away the ſcabbard, and never entertain a thought of return or repentance, like the bold Uſurper in the Poet.

The more we are oppoſed the more wee'le ſpread,
And make our foes our fuell: To le head
Wee'l, cut off any member, and condemn
Vertue of folly for a Diadem.
Baniſh Religion, &c.

The uſe of the Juncto's faſting.

And ſuch was their practice, though ſometimes (eſpecially when encompaſſed with dangers) they hang their head like a bull ruſh, and even but mock God with a faſt, while they only pray to be proſperous in their villany

About this time, the whole Nation of *England* began

gan to grow ſick of the abhorred fag end of a Parliament, endeavouring to make head againſt them in *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Hartford*, *Hereford*, *Gloceſter*, *Briſtoll*, in *Cheſhire* eſpecially, where many of the Gentry were actually engaged, correſpondence maintained, a rendevous appointed, and the antient City of *Cheſter* ſurpriſed: this indeed was the moſt formidable appearance in all *England*, for the only appeaſing whereof moſt of the County forces in thoſe parts, and ſeveral Regiments of the Army from *London*, did ſpeedily march under the command of a hot-ſpur zealot, Mr. G. *Lambert*, whoſe ambition made old Nol lay him aſide as dangerous, and that diſhonourable diſcarding, created him a deſperate Enemy to the *Cromwelian* name and family, which made the Juncto think him the fitter man for their ſervice, Sir *G. B.* appeared commander in chief in *Cheſhire*, though many other Noble Gentlemen, were preſent, ſo that this ſeemed to be the moſt likely place for Action. *Lambert* according to Order being upon his march thither, with three Regiments of horſe, and three Regiments of Foot, and one Regiment of Dragoones, beſides a train of Artillery: and the Juncto for his encouragement ſhot a paper gun (by them called a Proclamation) after him againſt Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Randolph Egerton*, proclaiming them and their adherents to be Rebells and Traytors, and all elſe that ſhould any way aſſiſt, abet or conceal the carrying on of their deſign; backed thus he marcheth furiouſly, and in a fourtnight or three weekes time draweth neer to *Cheſhire*, in the mean and during his abſence, the congregated Churches of Schiſmaticks and Sectaries in and about *London*, raiſe three Regiments for the ſecurity of thoſe parts, in the interval-

England ſick of the Rump.

A riſing in *Cheſhire* by Sir *G. B.*

valls of which time, Sir *George Booths* Declaration came out in print, the contents whereof was setting forth how the *Westminster* Statesmen had violated all lawes of God and Men; that the defence of the lawes and liberties was the chief things he and his aimed at, which would never by these self seekers be setled, and therefore desired a new free Parliament. This, as it carried nothing in it but what was reall true, so it gave very great satisfaction to all understanding people, though by the Phanatick rout it was descanted upon otherwise: but Gods time was not yet come, for *Lambert* no sooner arrived with his Army neer Sir *George Booth*, and his forces, but he fell on them with valour and violence, which produced a very sharp engagement, but the Country not being acquainted, nor used to such hot & furious work quickly yielded ground: Sr. *Georges* whole body being afterwards drawn forth neer *Northwich*, and possessed of the bridge, they drew up their foot in the meadowes, yet *Lamberts* Men being commanded to attempt the pass, did it with such resolution that they soon beat the Enemy from them, and made way for the whole Army, who having passed the river immediately gave them a totall rout.

Sir G. B. routed.

The newes of this victory so fleshed our bloodhounds, that they began to boast above measure, vaunting the Lords mercy to them (his own people forsooth) but Justice to their adversaries in so apparently blasting their Trayterous undertakings in every corner of the land; like the turkes, reckoning the goodness of their cause by the keenness of their sword, and denying that any thing may properly be called *Nefas*, if it can but win the Epithete of *Prosperum*.

Their maxime to make good their cause.

The Junto upon this, set forth a Declaration to invite

vite all the people to thankſgiving, for this great deliverance to the Parliament, and Common-wealth, (as they ſtiled themſelves): but *Lambert* intends to make uſe of his ſucceſs againſt the loyall party for himſelf, and to that end in a ſeeming, ſlighting and neglect of himſelf, writes to the Parliament his Souldiers merits, with whom (the ſooner to endear them) he is more than uſually familiar: and the Parliament have no ſooner voted him 1000 l. to buy him a Jewell, as a mark of their favour, but he preſently diſtributes it among his Souldiers, endeavouring by that and all other means to engage them wholly to himſelf, ſo as to venture in one bottom with him; he yet carried himſelf ſo, that his ambitious deſign was not diſcovered, and that he might the better conceal: at this time Sir *George Booth*, who had fled from the battle, at *Northwich* in *Cheſhire*, was taken at *Newport-Pannel* in diſguiſe; upon notice whereof, he is committed cloſe priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*. for high Treaſon, in levying warr againſt the Parliament, and Common-wealth, and that a Committee be appointed on purpoſe to examine him, all which was done accordingly, and Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, (two Saints of the Divells laſt edition) went to him to take his examination.

Lamberts policy.

Sir G. B. taken.

While things are thus in handling here, *Lambert* ſeeks cunningly to get all the ſtrength of thoſe Counties into his own hands, which the Parliament at his requeſt grant him, by giving him power to ſeize all armes for their uſe (as he pretended) in the ſame: of which piece of ſervice they ſeemed to be very glad as alſo of letters that came out of *Scotland*, aſſuring Generall *Monkes* fidelity to them againſt the intereſt of the *Stuarts*, or any other whatſoever, ſo that now they began

gan to deſcant on the late deſign, laying all the blame on the loyall party, whoſe game they ſaid it was, though he leaſt appeared in it, taking occaſion alſo from thence to blaſt the royall family with helliſh ſcandalls: the ſafety of which the divine providence hath alwayes had a particular and peculiar care of, but as it were in deſpight of Heaven, they are not content with all their former wickedneſſes of baniſhing, exiling, and railing againſt their lawfull Soveraign, but now they will enforce all to renounce him, which in *September* they Reſolved in theſe words.

A triall of the royall family.

Oath of abjurati. on.

J. A. B. *Do hereby declare, that I renounce the pretended title of* CHARLS STUART, *and the whole line of the late King* James, *and of every other perſon, as a ſingle perſon, pretending to the Government of theſe Nations, of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. And that I will by the grace and aſſiſtance of Almighty God be true, faithfull, and conſtant to this Common-wealth againſt any King, ſingle perſon, and houſe of Peers, and every of them, and hereunto I ſubſcribe my name.*

Thus may every one ſee, that it was not to amend or reform any errours in the State, but only their particular malice to the Royall line and covetouſneſs after their

their Estate, that made them run into such desperate designes, wherein having so deeply engaged themselves, that there was no going back, they mean to make all sure to their interest: and to that end take into debate in the beginning of *September*, the matter of the Government, and referred it to a Committee upon the votes in 1648. To prepare something in order to the settlement of the Government, on or before the tenth of *October*.

The blindness of the Juncto.

See here the indiscretion of these men, after a ten years unsettlement and bringing all into confusion, in all which time they have minded nothing but their own private wealth, and till this last minute of time have not so much as thought of resettling; and that they now have, is so weakly, that it tends no further than to an offer: thus running willingly into one crime, they daily perpetrate new ones without any sense of evill, or will of amending, attributing the guilt of their faults to all that endeavour either to reform or punish them.

The business of *Cheshire* thus blown over, and the great hopes that were grounded thereon blasted; the Juncto fall to their old humour of raising money, no less will serve their turn than 100000. l. a moneth, besides Excise and Customes, together with the hoped benefit that would arise from the sequestred Estates of new Delinquents; and least any thing should escape them, the 16th. of *September* they vote.

Taxes and excise confirmed, new delinquents made and militia arreas collected.

That such persons as have been assessed to find horses and Armes, by vertue of the Act of Parliament, for setling the Militia, and have not brought in their horses and Armes,

nor paid in lieu thereof the ſumm of money, appointed by the ſaid Act. That every ſuch perſon and perſons do under the penalty in the ſaid Act mentioned pay, after the rate of ten pounds for an horſe and Armes for ſuch number of horſes and Armes reſpectively as they have been charged to find.

Reſolved,

That ſuch perſon and perſons as have been aſſeſſed to find Armes for a foot Souldier, and have not ſent in the ſame, or money in lieu thereof, do under the penalties in the ſaid Act mentioned pay, reſpectively for every ſuch foot Armes, ſuch ſumm of money as the Commiſſioners ſhall appoint, not exceeding twenty five Shillings for every ſuch foot Armes.

'Tis no matter, you ſee, by this, whether any Horſe or Armes be brought in at all, ſo that the money be paid, Oh! 'Tis the money that adds Life and Legs to a decrepit and dying old cauſe: The Grandees would never take ſo much pains, unleſs an extraordinary profit alſo waited thereon; which they reſolve to compaſs, though with the extreameſt hazards, whereof there began to be ſome kind of an appearance, by the growing of heart-burnings, and multiplying fears and jealouſies be-

between their late great Champion *Lambert* and themſelves, the ſparks of which animoſities growing into a flame, quickly increaſed to that height, that not daring to truſt him any longer with the Army, they ſend a ſeeming courteous Letter to invite him home; which he, taking no notice of any thing further than the pretended outſide fair ſhew, acceps of; and on the 20th. of *September* returnes accordingly to *London*, but immediately before his arrivall there, the Juncto, to ſhew the great charity, wherewith they abounded, took into conſideration how to cozen the poor Knights of *Windſor*, and to ingroſs into their hands all Hoſpitals and their revenues, by theſe two following votes. *Viz. Tueſday September* 20th. 1659.

The Juncto grow ſuſpitious o Lambert

He comes to London.

Reſolved,

That it be referred to a Committee, to look into the revenue for maintenance of the poor Knights of Windſor, *to examine what the ſame at preſent is, and will be for the future, after Leaſes expired, and to ſee that the charitable uſes, to which the ſaid revenue was granted, be performed, and the reſidue to be anſwered, to the uſe of the Common-wealth, (by all means pray take a care of that) and to examine the Leaſes that have been made, and the fines that have been paid thereupon, and how diſpoſed, and by what authority; with power to give reliefe and allow-*

The Juncto intend to ſeize on all Hoſpitalls and convert their rents.

ance

ance to the said poor Knights, and other poor people not exceeding their former allowance (Oh, take heed of too much charity!) and also to take a Catalogue of all Hospitalls within this Common-wealth, and the revenewes of them (they are sure to mind that.) And that the Masters and Governours do return to this Committee, the constitution of the respective hospitalls, and how the profits thereof have been, and are disposed of, and by what authority, before the first of December, 1659. *And to report the whole matter to the house.*

Ordered,

That all Masters and Governours of hospitalls, be, and are hereby prohibited to grant or renew any Leases of any Lands, Tenements and hereditaments belonging unto any of the said respective hospitalls, untill this house take further Order. Notice of which is to be given to the respective concerned persons, by the Councill of State.

See here how greedy is the zeal of these devouring Statists, which yet is clothed in the garbe of a seeming Sanctimonious care, but this hypocrisie must not go long un-

unpuniſhed, neither does it, for now begins to appear the reſult of *Lamberts* deſignments abroad, in a remonſtrative addreſs from the Army: at the very firſt newes, whereof the Parliament is ſo ſtartled, that, fearing to be whipped with their own rod, they ordered, Col. *Aſhfield*, Col. *Cobbet*, and Lieutenant Col. *Duckenfield*, (three of the chief promoters of it) to bring to them the original paper, intended to be preſented; upon notice of which order given, immediately, a letter was delivered into the houſe ſigned by many perſons of the Army, ſuperſcribed to the ſaid three ſummoned perſons, by whoſe hands they deſired the incloſed paper might be preſented to the Lord *Fleetwood*, and after to the generall Councill, which incloſed paper was intituled, to the ſupream authority of theſe Nations, the Parliament of the Common-wealth of *England*, The humble Petition and propoſalls of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord *Lambert* in the late Northern expedition, the manner and method of which paper the Junćto ſo highly reſented (as ſuppoſing it to ſtrike at their very root) that they preſently voted.

Armies remonſtrate the Junćto ſend for ſome Officers.

That this houſe doth declare, that to have any more Generall Officers in the Army, than are already ſetled by Parliament, is needleſs chargeable and dangerous to the Common-wealth.

obſerve this crak.

Here was the firſt ſtep to that diviſion, which afterwards grew into a flame but the Army Officers finding their deſign, was not yet ripe enough, by a diſſembled ac-

acquiescency, seemed to lay aside their propoſalls, by ſignifying to the Parliament, that they would adhere to their authority in oppoſition to the common Enemy, and that they would ſtand by them in the ſettlement of the Common-wealth, againſt all diſturbances whatſoever, which lulled the Junto into a kind of ſecurity, the City alſo at this time ſeeming to claw them by an invitation to a Thankſgiving dinner, whereat the field Officers of the Army were alſo to be preſent; ſo that now being in a manner rid of their fear, they fall upon ſequeſtring the Gentry, about Sir *George Booths* buſineſs, ſettle the Exciſe, and revive the Aſſeſſements for the Militia, uſing all their skill and power for amaſſing together the wealth of the Nation into their private purſes, concluding with the *Epicureans*, *ede*, *lude*, *bibe*, *poſt mortem nulla voluptas*, ſo ſottiſhly ſtupid were they grown in their high flown ambition.

Thanksgiving dinner in the City.

But now, leaſt they ſhould forget their duty, the Officers of the Army preſent a new addreſs requiring anſwer thereto, which made them take it into the ſeveral pieces wherein it was propoſed, wherein among other things (to ſhew you the harmony that was then between them) they give to their third propoſall this anſwer. *Viz.*

Armies new addreſs.

Junto angry there with.

The Parliament declares, that every Member of the Army, as free Men of England, *have a right of petitioning the Parliament, but withall thinks fit to let them know, that the Petitioners ought to be very carefull, both in the manner, and in the matter of what they*

they desire, that the way of promoting and presenting the same may be peaceable, and the things petitioned for, not tending, to the disturbance of the Common-wealth, *nor to the dishonour of the* Parliament. *And that it is the duty of petitioners to submit their desires to the* Parliament, *and acquiesce in the judgment thereof.*

By this Declaration they intended to curb the *Wallingford* party, by teaching them manners, and to know their distance; but they being Men of another spirit, and knowing they had the power of the sword in their own hands, would not be so put off: which the Juncto, perceiving, and beginning to grow jealous of their own safety, and satisfyed that the Army could not subsist without money (which is the Nerve of War) to engage the People to themselves, and to dis-inable the Officers from raising any money (in case they should (which they now much doubted) interrupt them in their sitting) they passed an Act against raising of monies upon the people, without their consent in Parliament. Part whereof take as followeth.

Act against raising money without consent of Parliament makes the Souldiery mad.

Be it enacted, &c. That all Orders, Ordinances, and Acts, made by any single person and his Councill, or both, or either of them, or otherwise, or by any assembly or convention pretending to have Authority of

Parliament, from and after the 19*th. Day of* April, 1653. *and before the* 7*th. of* May, 1659. *And which have not been, or ſhall not be enacted, allowed, or confirmed by this preſent Parliament be, and are hereby declared, deemed, taken and adjudged to be of no force and effect from and after the ſaid ſeventh day of* May 1659.

And be it further enacted, that no perſon or perſons, ſhall after the eleventh of October, 1659. *Aſſeſs, Levy, Collect, gather or receive any Cuſtom, Impoſt, Exciſe, Aſſeſſment, contribution, Tax, Tallage, or any ſumme or ſumms of money or other impoſition whatſoever upon the people of this Common-wealth, without their conſent in* Parliament, *or as by law might have been done before the third of* November, 1640. *And that every perſon offending contrary to this Act ſhall be, and is hereby adjudged to be guilty of high Treaſon, and ſhall forfeit and ſuffer as in caſe of high Treaſon.*

When the Juncto had thrown abroad this killing thunderbolt, to ſhew that they durſt own the power which they yet conceived themſelves Maſters off, they took

took into consideration a Letter, dated *October* the 5th. and signed by diverse Officers of the Army, and directed to Col. *Okey*, and also a printed paper, called the humble representation and Petition of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament, &c. Upon the reading of which two papers, the house was so highly incensed and flew into such a sudden heat of passion, that without any more adoe they resolved.

9. great Officers displaced and voted out of commission.

That the severall Commissions of, Col. *John Lambert*, Col. *John Desborow*, Col. *James Berry*, Col. *Thomas Kelsey*, Col. *Richard Ashfield*, Col. *Ralfe Cobbet*, Major *Richard Creed*, Col. *William Packer*, and Col. *Rob. Barrow*, were null and void, and every of them discharged from military imployment. And that the Army should be governed by seven Commissioners, *Viz. L. G. Charles Fleetwood*, *L. G. Edm. Ludlow*, Generall *George Monck*, Sir *Arthur Haslelrig* Barronet, Col *Valentine Walton*, Col. *Hark. Morley*, and Col. *Robert Overton*, or any three or more of them, which said Commissioners, were to give notice to the said nine Officers of the discharge of their Commissions, which being accordingly communicated, now might you have seen the smoaking embers of dissembled friendship, break out into an open flame of violent enmity, this great and so long domineering faction, being divided in it self, and each side prepairing for its own, both defence, and elevation, for now a *Quorum* of the Commissioners which were appointed to govern the army, being gotten together, and sitting all night in the Speakers chamber, which was within the Parliament house, to issue forth orders; part of the army with most of the discharged Principall Officers presently drew down to *Westminster* in a warlike order,

Commissioners to govern the Army.

The feud betwixt the rump and the Souldiery breaks out.

where they poſſeſſed themſelves of the great Hall, the Palace yard, and all aventies, and paſſages leading thereunto, having before given out, that they found it abſolutely neceſſary for the good of the Nation, to break up this Parliament, for the maintaining whereof another part of the army were as active in drawing together, the ſame night alſo marching down to *Weſtminſter*, and planting themſelves in *Kingſtreet*, and in and about the *Abbey* Church and Yard: This unuſuall aſſembly at ſuch an unaccuſtomed hour cauſed a generall terrour in the hearts and minds of the Inhabitants, who dreaded ſome greater miſchief than they were ſenſible of, but the night being paſt, in the morning the Speaker Mr. *W. Lenthall*, at his uſuall time came along *Kingſtreet*, and had paſſage through the ranks of Souldiers, till he came to the new Palace gate, where his Coach was ſtopped, and himſelf compelled to return home, as wiſe as he went, whereby the houſe was interrupted from ſitting; which was the chief thing that *Lambert* aimed at; yet though he had thus wrought his purpoſe, he durſt not withdraw, but make good his ſtation againſt the other faction, the greateſt part of the day, each of the Phanatick leaders (for ſo indeed they were both) expecting who ſhould give the firſt blow, of which meekneſs the then councell of State taking notice, required both to draw off to their quarters, which motion was willingly accepted on all hands, and ſo both ſides marched away.

The Rump turned out of doors.

Obſerve. Thus have we ſeen that rump of pretended authority, which in *May* was, with much ſolliciting, many intreaties, and not a few ſpecious pretences, courted to come into play, now again in *October*, with as great

ſcorn

ſcorn and malice laid a ſide and trampled on: *Nec lex eſt juſtior ulla, quam necis artifices arte perire ſua*, It hath been a generall Obſervation, that Treaſon is alwayes the greateſt puniſhment to it ſelf, like the Viper, it breeds young with her own deſtruction, and as the Poet ſpeaketh of envy, *ſit licet injuſtus livor*, ſo may I ſay of it, though it be unjuſt to others, yet is it very juſt, to deſtroy them firſt that would deſtroy others.

The Councill of Officers having thus ſeized the Government into their hands, played with it for certain dayes, till (with the old Philoſopher, in the queſtion about God) finding, the more they ſtudyed, the leſs they underſtood, and that they were led by an *Ignis fatuus*, which only trained them to the ſight, but would never bring them to the certenty, of a ſettlement, and pondering their own many weakneſſes, and infirmities, with the exigency of affairs, they fell into conſideration of what was fit to be done: In the debate whereof, after many frivolous eſſayes, they agreed at length among themſelves to nominate ſome perſons to be a Councill of State, which device being applauded, and a new name deviſed for them (for they will be called forſooth the Committee of ſafety) theſe following perſons were pitch'd upon, *Viz. Fleetwood*, whoſe folly would have exempted, but they were affraid he would have cryed. Knowing alſo that the beſt play ever hath a fool in it. *Officers meet.* *They erect a Committee of ſafety, their names and characters.*

Lambert a ſeeming Saint, but chief Engenier of the modell.

Desborow a drunken Clown, skill'd in Harraſſing the land ſteel, once a ſneaking petty fogger, now Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, and a Traytor.

Whitlock

Whitlock a lump of ingratitude and deceit.

Sir *Henry Vane*, chief secretary to the seven deadly sins.

Ludlow, once a Gentleman, but since by himself Levelled into the plebeyan rank.

Sydenham, nothing good in him but his name.

Upstart *Saloway Strickland*, once a rumper, after a Lord of *Nolls* edition, then a convert to the good old cause.

Berry, *pedum nequissimus*, the wickedst villain among 1000.

Lawrence, once an upstart privy Counceller, now scarce a Gentleman.

Sir *James Harrington*, *Per risum multum possis cognoscere.*—

Wareston, a mickle knave geud saw Sir.

Ireton, and *Tichborn*, two of the City Puckfoists, who lye leger in the Common Council, to discover plots for the getting of money.

Henry Brandrith, fit for mischief, else he had not been here.

Thompson, a dull fellow, but a soaking Committeeman.

Hewson, the Common-wealths upright setter.

Sniveling Col. *Clarke* Factious, Col. *Lilburn*, preaching, Col. *Beanet*, and *Cornelius Holland*, a most damnable Apostate, both to God and his King.

Com safety their power.

To these fellowes thus fitly accoutred, is the Government committed, and not only so, but they have power to call Delinquents to account, to oppose, and suppress all insurrections; to treat with forreign States, and Princes, to raise the militia's in the severall Counties. To dispose of all places of trust, with many other things,

things: by which may be ſeen, what an unlimited arbitrary power they aſſumed to themſelves over the lives and eſtates of all Engliſhmen. And that all *England* might take notice hereof, they ſend out a Declaration in print, entitled a Declaration of the General Council of the Officers of the Army, wherein they ſay they have lodged the civil and executive part of Government, in the Committee of ſafety, whom they have obliged to prepare ſuch a form of Government, as may beſt ſute with a Free-State, without a ſingle perſon, Kingſhip or houſe of Peers: with many equivocating, though Saint-like, expreſſions to the like effect, with which they hoped to delude the World, and continue their uſurpation, but *Sera venit ſed certa venit.* All their hypocriticall ſhewes cannot cheat God, who raiſeth up the Spirit of one among themſelves to chaſtiſe the errours of their pride, and vain glorious attempts: for no ſooner is that Infernall crew of Atheiſts met in their Committee, but they are alarumed with a letter from General *Monck* out of *Scotland*, wherein he gives them notice that both himſelf and ſome Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, were much diſſatisfied in reference to the tranſactions of affairs in *England*, at the ſame time receiving intelligence that he had, ſeized ſeverall ſtrong holds, ſecured diverſe of his diſſenting Officers, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Barwick*, which drove them for a time into a kind of Phanatick ſtupidity, that they knew not which way to move in the management of their affairs, but at laſt willing to preſerve themſelves, they order the forces in the North into a poſture, and command *Lambert* with more Regiments out of the Southerly parts to joyn with them, that ſo they might appear formidable at leaſt at a diſtance, and

Armies declaration.

Monck diſſatisfied with their proceedings.

Seizeth Barwick.

put

put a ſtay to the violence which they foreſaw was approaching to them; for the prevention of which ſtorm Col. *Cobbet* is ſent to General *Monck* with inſinuating relations, whom the Generall immediately upon his arrivall commits to cuſtody, thereby, preſerving his Army from the dangerous contrivances that Perſon brought along with him, and depriving of the intelligence he might have carried to *England* back with him: which being done by the power of his Commiſſion (as one of the ſeven) he ſtraight new models his Army, according to his own mind, and then declares his reſolution to aſſert the authority of Parliament, againſt all violence whatſoever. Upon newes of this, our ſafe Committeemen, knowing the pulſe of the late Juncto to beat after the mode of a free-ſtate, think they ſhall merit highly at the hands of the General, if they promote that, though they diſown the Parliament he pretended to declare for, and to that purpoſe having nominated ſeverall Gallant fellowes of their own number, *Viz. Fleetwood*, *Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Saloway*, *Tichburn*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Hewſen*, *Holland*, and others, to conſider of, and prepare, a form of Government to be ſetled over the three Nations, in the way of a Free-State and Common-wealth, they ſend away *Whalley*, *Goffe*, *Caryl*, and *Barker*, to ſhew the ſame to General *Monck*, and thereupon to mediate with him for avoiding the effuſion of blood: the Officers at *London* writing alſo to his Officers, and expoſtulating with them, touching the neceſſity of a brotherly union, crying out of nothing but Liberty, while the Nation groan'd under their oppreſſion; But *Monck* revolving with himſelf, both the greatneſs, difficulty, and hazard, of his deſign, concludes not to be raſh in

Lambert marcheth againſt him.

Safe Committee for a free-ſtate.

a direct quarrel, but rather by procraſtinations to weaken the force of his enemies (which he knew could not continue long without money) and ſo to gain the victory without ſtriking a blow, therefore to amuſe them, and caſt the more ſeeming gloſs upon his action he orders Col. *Talbot*, and Dr. *Clargies* (who were the firſt meſſengers ſent to him) to ſend *Fleetwood* word that himſelf and his Officers had nominated Col. *Wilkes* L. C. *Cloberry*, and Major *Knight*, to repair ſpeedily to *London*, and treat with the like number of Officers there, for a firm unity and peace, and the better to confirm it, he ſends another Letter from himſelf to the ſame purpoſe, with promiſe that his forces ſhould advance no further. But the Committee of ſafety, willing by ſtrenth to hold what they had got, and not knowing what to think of the Generall, iſſue out many ſeverall Commiſſions to raiſe forces throughout all *England*, to anticipate him, and to ſettle Militia's to be ready in a moment, as it were to reſiſt him: which he hearing, and that *Lambert* was coming againſt him with thirteen thouſand men, he according to his before mentioned Letter, forthwith ſends his three appointed meſſengers for peace, upon whoſe arrivall at *Yorke*, in *November*, and ſpeech with *Lambert*, he became ſo farr ſatisfied of their intentions towards an Accommodation, that thereupon he gave order his forces ſhould advance no further Northward in their march.

Monck deſires a treaty.

Militia ſettled.

Things being brought now into this poſture, the Generalls three Commiſſioners arrive at *London*, *November* the 12th. where the Treaty is immediately begun: which lulled the Committee of ſafety into ſuch a ſecurity, that they begin to think of ſhareing great

The treaty begun.

Offices and places of trust and profit among themselves, to this end, appointing *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, *Sydenham*, *Saloway*, *Cornelius Holland*, Col. *Clark*, Col. *John Blackwell*, or any two of them to be Commissioners for the Treasury, and to manage the affairs of the publick revenue, with power as large as could be desired: (And would it not be well managed think you in the hands of such bankrupts) but while these men mind their own wealth only, the Treaty must not be forgotten, which was now in hand, and on a sudden brought to such an issue, that it startled the City, who had by Col. *Alured*, and Collonel *Markham* received Letters from *Scotland* of another purport, for at last the Commissioners on both sides agreed on these heads ensuing, that is to say.

The articles of the Treaty.

That the pretended Title of CHARLES STUART, *or any other claiming from that family should be utterly renounced.* (O horrid Treason, first murder the Father, and then abjure the Son!)

That the Government of these Nations, shall be by a free State or Common-wealth, and not by a single person, King, or house of Lords. What must the new settlement utterly abolish all the old fundamentall Laws of *England* at one breath? Your Precipitation bodes your ruine.

Thou

That a Godly and learned Miniſtery, ſhall be maintained and encouraged: 'Tis well the Generalls Men thought of it, for you may be aſſured it is againſt the principle of Anabaptiſts, and fifth-Monarchy Men;

That the Univerſities ſhall be reformed and countenanced, ſo, as that they may become Nurſeries of Piety, and Learning. That the Officers and Souldiers, and other perſons on either ſide be indemnified for what is paſt, touching their late difference, and that all unkindneſs betwixt them be buried in perpetuall Oblivion; pray take care of that: but it may be ſuppoſed you ſhall be the furtheſt off when you think your ſelf neereſt.

That the Officers which were made priſoners in Scotland, *be forthwith ſet at liberty*; How will the Generall like that?

That the Armies be preſently diſpoſed into quarters, and that there be a committee of nineteen whereof nine to make the Quorum, *who were to meet about qualifications, for ſucceeding Parliaments.*

This was the effect of part of the agreement, which was ſent away with all ſpeed to Generall *Monck*; upon knowledge whereof, and by reaſon, the concluſions of the ſaid Treaty were ſo contrary to the Letters, by them formerly received, the City was ſtartled, having *The City ſtartle.*

(as they ſuppoſed by order) been encouraged to ſtand faſt in their liberty for their Laws, Priviledges, Properties, and lawfull Government.

But the Generall in a wiſe foreſight, and providentiall care; having caſt in his mind the danger he ſtood in (for he had a wolfe by the ears) though he ſent his Commiſſioners aforeſaid, yet reſerved to himſelf the ratification, ſo that nothing ſhould be of force untill it were confirmed with his own ſeal: But now the articles of the Treaty being come to his hands, he commands the return of his Commiſſioners, which they obeying, he preſently commits Col. *Wilks* to cuſtody for going beyond his Commiſſion) declareth the Treaty void, and marcheth toward the borders: which the Committee of ſafety being advertiſed off, fall to their old tricks to delude the people, endeavouring to make them believe it was only a rumour grounded on a fained Letter pretended to be by him ſent to the City, whereas they ſeemed to be aſſured that he would acquieſce in the former agreement, but truth who is *filia temporis*, the daughter of time, quickly appeared to undeceive the people; for in this *interim* his excellency (having as himſelf expreſſed it a call from God and Man, to march into *England*, for reſetling the Parliament) calleth an aſſembly of the Nobles and Gentry of *Scotland* at *Edenburgh*, to whom he propoſed theſe three things.

Monck *commits one of his Commiſſioners.*

He *calls an aſſembly in* Scotland.

1. That they would, during his abſence, which would not be long, preſerve and ſecure the peace of that Nation.

2. That they would ſupply him with ſome men for his undertaking (which he engaged upon his honour ſhould be to their ſatisfaction) and that if any troubles ſhould

ſhould ariſe, they would aſſiſt him in the ſuppreſſing thereof.

3. That they would advance and raiſe what money they could before hand.

To theſe Propoſitions the Earl of *Glencarn*, who was chairman of that aſſembly, returned theſe modeſt anſwers.

1. That they could not engage to preſerve the peace of the Countrey in his abſence, wanting armes, and ſo in no condition to do it, but they ſhould with all faithfullneſs notwithſtanding endeavour it.

2. That they were uncapable to anſwer his deſires for the reaſons aforeſaid, neither did they think it prudent for them to engage in a war, which if it ſhould prove unſucceſsfull on their part, would be a ruine to them: or if ſucceſsfull, they did not underſtand, that it would be advantagious to them in any meaſure. But as to the third.

3. That they were content to levy moneys, and advance a years tax aforehand.

Generall *Monck* highly ſatisfied with thoſe civil returnes, endeavours to careſce and indear them by.

Giving the Lords and gentry power to arme themſelves, by ſatisfying them privately in the deſign of his expedition, and accepting of their years taxes. 1. 2. 3.

Hereupon he reſolves now to dally no longer than his ſupplies of Men and money come in, in the mean while holding correſpondence and intelligence with his friends all over *England*, from whom he a new received advertiſement, that if he could yet for a litle time keep fairly at a diſtance, his work ſhould be done even without any noiſe of drum or trumpet except it were in exultation and triumph. This adviſe cauſed *He keeps intelligence.*

him

him to make ſome ſeeming overtures of a ſecond treaty with *Lambert*, yet all along inſiſting upon the re-admiſſion of the Parliament, before they began it.

The Wallingford in government.

As a balk to which the Committee of ſafety declared, (hoping thereby yet to lead the Nation into further errour and miſchief) that they had tranſmitted a great part of a form of government for theſe Nations to a Committee of the Officers of the Army ('tis like to be well done if it muſt be hewen out by a dint of the ſword) to be conſidered by them, (a mad crew of *Gotamists*) who daily meet, and are gone through a great part of it with much ſatisfaction, (to themſelves poſſibly to think how finely they ſhould Lord it, but to no body elſe ſurely) they are very deſirous to have ſuch a Government, as may preſerve the Liberties of the Nation (this is the old cheat) and ſecure the cauſe they have contended in (which is flat treaſon and rebellion) both againſt *CHARLES STVART*, and any other that may diſturbe the peace: hoping in time to make it appear, that their Enemies are Liers when they traduce them and render them a people that ſeek only themſelves. Then they conclude, that they hope the faith of Gods people will hold out and not make haſt, and that good men will help them in their prayers, that God the Lord would bring forth righteouſneſs and truth, and diſcover, and bring to nought the ſecret contrivances of all his adverſaries: And ſo no doubt, he will to the ſhame and ruine of all ſuch diſſembling Hypocrites.

About this time being the later end of *November*, the People beginning to ſmell their knavery, drew ſeveral Petitions, with an intent to deliver them, but their crazie ſtomacks being not able to bear ſuch ſtrong Phyſick,

sick, belched forth a Proclamation against all such Petitions, which they call undue and dangerous papers, and prohibite all persons to subscribe any such papers, and if offered to suppress them, or cause the person endeavouring to get subscriptions to be apprehended, upon penalty of being accounted disturbers to, and enemies of, the peace. *Proclaim against Subscriptions.*

But this not working its desired effect, but rather making men the more eager, so as they began to fear tumultuous proceedings, therefore the Mayor is commanded and he accordingly sent warrants to all City Officers to charge all Masters of families to keep in their Sons and Servants: This enraged the youth of the City to such a height, that the Committee of safety fearing their own danger to arise from some disturbance there, gave order *December* the 5th. to part of the Army, both horse and foot to march into the City, which they did early in the morning, where being entred, great multitudes of all sorts of people gathered together in the Streets, the shops were shut up, and the Souldiers in all places affronted, which so madded them, that by command of their Col. *Hewson*, they fell on the people with some violence, and killed two or three persons, wherewith the multitude for the present dispersed, but began to bear a grudge, whose revenge would not be satisfied but with the ruine of their oppressours. This was the last help they had to rely on, that they would rather reduce all to a *Chaos*, than quit their hold, snatching at every the least opportunity that did but flatteringly seem to offer them an advantage: for by this, though unwillingly, foreseeing their Catastrophe at hand they are driven into more sad thoughts of their dissolution, by the revolt. *Hewson goes into London.*

volt of *Portſmouth*, which *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, with the conſent of Col. *Whetham*, the Governour had gained: now might any man gueſs their time to be ſhort by the violent extravagancy of their actions, for *nullum violentum diuturnum*; the news of which arriving to them, they ſent ſome horſe and foot either to reduce or block up that garriſon (here we ſee, now we ſee that great and divelliſh faction of Independency ſtrongly divided) but ſoft and fair, the game goes quite contrary, as will appear afterwards.

During this dealing at *Portſmouth*, the Army Officers finding that nothing would ſatisfie the People, but either to re-admit the Rump Parliament or have another, they to give them hopes of a glimmering of content, Ordered.

Parliament proclaimed by Committee of ſafety.

That a Parliament ſhall be called and appointed to ſit down in or before February *next.*

That the Parliament to be called as aforeſaid, ſhall be according to ſuch qualifications as are or ſhall be agreed upon, and may beſt ſecure the juſt rights, liberties, and priviledges of the people.

This muſt be ſolemnly proclaimed forſooth by their journey men of ſafety, together with another edict of the ſame ſtamp, commanding all honeſt and loyal ſouls out of the Cities of *London*, and *Weſtminſter*, upon pain, of impriſonment, and to be proceeded againſt as traytours, and executed: By this means, they thought

thought to walk in a miſt without any ſupervisors, but alas they were much miſtaken, for though they thus cleered themſelves, as they thought, from fear of the Common Enemy (as they termed all loyaliſts) yet they could not free themſelves of their new gotten Enemies at *Portſmouth*, by whoſe policy they were cut-witted and caſheired: yet nevertheleſs ſeven principles and unalterable ſundamentalls are agreed on, which were publiſhed to this effect, by theſe high and mighty *Johns* a Leyden.

1. That no Kingſhip ſhall be exerciſed in theſe Nations. Walling-ford 7. *principles of Rule*

2. That they will not have any ſingle perſon to exerciſe the office of chief Magiſtrate in theſe Nations.

3. That an Army may be continued and maintained, and be conducted, ſo as it may ſecure the peace of theſe Nations, and not be disbanded, nor the conduct thereof altered but by conſent of the conſervatours appointed.

4. That no impoſition may be upon the conſciences of them that fear God.

5. That there be no houſe of Peers.

6. That the Legiſlative and Executive power be diſtinct, and not in the ſame hands.

7. That the aſſemblies of the Parliament ſhall be elected by the people of this Common-wealth, duly qualified.

Here you ſee the ſcope of theſe *Bedlamites*, and what a fine hotch potch they would have made, but their ſport was quickly ſpoiled by a Declaration from Vice-admirall *Lawſon* giving ſeverall reaſons of a neceſſity for the long Parliament to ſit again, neither Lawſon *declares.*

would any thing elſe ſatisfie him, though Sir *Henry Vane* himſelf with his Jeſuited and poyſonous breath ſought to infect him.

Now alſo had *Haſlerig*, *Morley*, and others ſo beſtirred themſelves, and by their policy wrought upon the Souldiers that were ſent by the *Wallingfordians* againſt them that they all came over to them, and relinquiſhed their preten ed Maſters, whoſe want of money (if nothing elſe) would have made their cauſe ſeem bad enough, eſpecially ſince the rogue of all the Kingdom ran directly encounter to their deſignes, their being motions almoſt in every County, ſome for the Rump wholy, others for the joyning of the ſecluded members to them, but moſt, and they the wiſeſt, moderateſt, and not leaſt conſiderable were for a full and free Parliament, but Independency being not yet arrived at its full period, begins firſt to decline by the General advance, though in part ſeemingly upheld by admitting the Rump-Parliament again into their full power, as when they were interrupted the thirteenth of *October* before going, who accordingly, on the four and twentyeth day of *December*, were owned by all the Souldiery, both in *England* and *Ireland*, as the ſuprem authority with much ſolemnity, the Speaker *Lenthall* going immediately to take care of the *Tower* of *London*, the Government whereof he committed for the time preſent to Sir *Anthony Aſhly-Cooper*, Mr. *Weever*, and Mr. *Berners*, and on *Munday* the 26th. of *December*, in the evening by twilight began to ſit again, and were as peremptorily imperious as before, commanding *Lambert* to *London*, whoſe forces were all, either revolted away to General *Monck*, or piece-meal retired into quarters for want of pay, yet notwithſtanding

Independencies firſt declining.

Lamberts Army vaniſheth.

ing

ing all this removall of force from them, they thought not themſelves ſecure, untill he by his authority came to awe the Souldiery, and people, who were now grown tumultuous, and as ready to throw them out of the ſadle, as they had done the *Wallingford* faction.

His excellency therefore, (who could never be perſwaded out of *Scotland*, ſince he firſt went thither) now layes hold on this opportunity, to do his Country ſervice, having therefore, as is before mentioned, ſecured *Scotland*, he likewiſe deals with Sir *Charles Coot*, and others in *Ireland*, who ſtriking a perfect harmony with him, did ſurpriſe the moſt eminent Phanaticks in the midſt of their deſignes in *Dublin* Caſtle, and ſtop *Ludlow*, who was commander in chief in *Ireland*, at Sea, by this means making all *Ireland* ſure for the Parliament [for ſuch yet was the pretence] as it was in the 12th. of *October*, 1659. This wrought ſo effectually, and even to ſuch an exceſs of joy in the Parliament, that they not only approved of all Generall *Monkes* former actions, but ordered the hearty thanks of the houſe to be given to him for his fidelity, and faithfull ſervice, and a letter of thanks to be ſent to him, ſigned by Mr. Speaker, a proper reward ſurely, as if one word of their mouths were a ſufficient recompence for all labours, hazards, and travels.

Monck marches to England.

While they are thus minding themſelves and boaſting of their own ſtrength, they receive a cooling card from ſome of the ſecluded members, who demanded to be admitted to ſit, if that Parliament were not broken, which put our muſhromes Juncto into ſuch a dump, that they were fain to paſs this following Reſolve.

Tueſday 27. *December.* 1659.

Note this. Reſolved,

That on the fifth of January *next, this houſe will take into conſideration the caſe of all abſent Members, and alſo how to ſupply the vacant places in order to the filling up of the houſe; and that in the mean time it be referred to a Committee, to conſider of all proceedings, and all orders, and caſes touching abſent members, and make their report at the ſame time.*

But this did not prove ſatisfactory, as they expected it ſhould, for the City begins to grow diſcontent, preparing themſelves for a poſture of defence; In the Country the caſheired Officers, and the depreſſed Nobility and Gentry beſtir themſelves, courting his Excellency all along in his march, and ecchoing in his ears perpetually a free Parliament, to whom he generally gave no other anſwers, but that he would uſe his utmoſt intereſt, to perſwade them to reaſon and Juſtice, in the mean time wiſhing them to acquieſce in what they ſhould order; thus he marcheth with his whole Army, modelling to his own mind all Gariſons and forces in his way: This and his number of men that he brought with him, being far beyond allowance, (for they ordered only three hundred) put our Rumpers to a ſtand, and they could not be ſatisfied untill they

they ſend the ſubtileſt couple in the houſe, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, to ſound his intention, under pretence of congratulating his coming to *England*, and complementing him, to whom he carried himſelf with ſo much gravity and reſervedneſs, that they could not catch one dropping ſyllable that might betray him. *Scot and Robinſon are ſent to Monck.*

About this time the City by their Sword-bearer, ſend to him, to whom he returnes, that he is for the Parliament as aforeſaid, yet aſſures them that, when he came to the City, he would ſatisfie their deſires and hopes conceived of him, thus owning the authority then in being, he keeps cloſe to his commiſſion, notwithſtanding all the addreſſes of the Countries for a free Parliament, promiſing nothing more but that he would ſee all force removed from the Parliament, 2. The Houſe filled, and 3. That there ſhould be good proviſion made for future Parliaments. Thus with a ſlow and orderly march, attended by the prayers and wiſhes of the whole Nation, he comes at length to St. *Albans*. *The City Court him.* *He comes to St. Albans.*

In this interval of time, the Rumpers minding to ingroſs the whole power, both Legiſlative, and Executive into their own hands, and to ſhare all places of truſt and profit among themſelves: on the fifth of *January* paſs this following vote.

Reſolved,

Touching abſent Members, that the Parliament doth adjudge and declare, that the Members who ſtand diſcharged from voting or ſitting in the years 1648. and 1649. do ſtand duly diſcharged by judgment of Parliament: *Abſence thus.*

ament from ſitting as Members of this Parliament, during this Parliament; and that writs do iſſue forth for electing of new Members in their places.

Thus did they intend to have perpetuated themſelves for their lives, and to have bequeathed their villany in ſucceſſion, to ſuch as were to be new choſen, having already concluded, that the Oath of renunciation of the title of CHARLES STUART (as theſe unmannerly mungrels were pleaſed to ſtile their Soveraign) and the whole line of the late King *James* ſhould be taken by every member that hereafter ſhall ſit in Parliament, nay ſo high were they now grown, that they committed diverſe for but Petitioning for a free Parliament.

Oath of abjuration.

This made his Excellency haſt up to *London*, where his Lady and Family were come before him by Sea; into which City he comes about the beginning of *February*, and takes up his lodging at *White-Hall*, as the Parliament had appointed him (contrary to the thoughts of many) and after two or three dayes refreſhment (taking no notice of his reſentment of the aforeſaid inſolencies) he ſolemnly attends the houſe according to their order, and with much modeſty gives them an account of his undertakings, refuſing the chair offered him for his eaſe and honour, but leaning on the back of it, he delivered himſelf to this effect.

M. comes to London.

Goes to the houſe.

His ſpeech then.

That he deſerved not the thanks they gave him, having done no more than his duty, but wiſhed them rather to praiſe God for his mercy: then he humbly deſired them to ſatisfie the expectation of the Nation in the eſtabliſhment of their laws

laws, liberties, properties, &c. God having reſtored them, not ſo much that they ſhould ſeek their own, as the publick, good. He deſired them in particular to take away the jealouſie, men had of their perpetuity, by determining their own ſeſſions, and providing for future Parliaments, wiſhing them to uſe the Nobility and Gentry civilly, intimating that it was their wiſdom rather to enlarge, than contract their intereſt, he told them, that the fewer qualifications they put upon ſucceeding Parliaments, the better, and deſired them to be tender in impoſing new oaths (for he had heard of the oath of abrenunciation) alledging there was more reaſon to repent of thoſe already taken, than to take new ones, ſo warning them to take heed of Cavaliers, and Phanaticks, he concluded, commending Scotland *to their care, and aſſuring them of* Ireland, *and hinting at a Free-State.*

This done, and he retired loaden with thanks, he withdrawes to his place in the Councill of State, where the firſt that he finds under conſideration is the reducing of the City, (which to make a ſhort digreſſion was now grown unruly, being ſtifly reſolved to own no power, but that of a full and Free Parliament, whereto they had been encouraged by the Country in ſeverall Declarations, but eſpecially that of *Devonſhire*, which in regard it gives the ſence of all in one, and was that chiefly ſtuck to by the City: I ſhall give it you at large, as Mr. *Bamfield*, the Recorder of *Exon*, ſent it to the Speaker, *January* the 14th. *How the P. employ him.*

The

The Declaration.

We the Gentry of Devon, *finding ourſelves without a Regular Government, after your laſt interruption, deſigned a publick meeting to conſult remedies, which we could not ſo conveniently effect till this weeke at our general quarter Seſſions, at* Exon; *where we found diverſe of the Inhabitants groaning under high oppreſſions, and a general defect of trade, to the utter ruine of many, and fear of the like to others, (which is ſo viſible in the whole Country) that it occaſioned ſuch diſorders, as were no ſmall trouble and diſturbance to us, which (by Gods bleſſing upon our endeavours) were ſoon ſuppreſt without blood: And thongh we find, ſince our laſt purpoſes, an alteration in the State of affairs, by the re-aſſembling you at the helme of Government, yet we conceive that we are but in part redreſt of our grievances, and that the chief expedient to amend the whole, will be the recalling all thoſe Members that were ſecluded in* 1648. *And ſate before the firſt force upon the* Parliament, *and alſo by filling*

filling up vacant places, and all to be admitted without any Oath and engagement previous to their entrance, for which things if you pleaſe to take a ſpeedy courſe, we ſhall defend you againſt all oppoſers, and future interrupters, with our Lives and fortunes: for the accompliſhment whereof we ſhall uſe all lawfull means, which we humbly conceive may beſt conduce to the peace and ſafety of this Nation.

This was ſigned by moſt of the chief gentry of the Country.

Now the City, owning the purport of this Declation by one of their own, and refuſing to pay taxes, had drawn the Councill of State to that violent ebulliency, of reducing it to a ſubmiſſion, which was, as I ſaid before, the point, upon which they feil, when firſt General *Monck*, came firſt among them; for they had rather bring the whole World into a combuſtion than their uſurped power either to equals or ſuperiours, they were ſo in love with power, that they would not have left pilling, as long as there had remained any matter either to ſatisfie their ambition or covetouſneſs; wherefore they reſolve to drive on furiouſly, and therefore give order to the Generall to march into the City, with ſo many horſe and foot, as ſhould reduce them to an obedience, and compell them to pay the Aſſeſſment. His excellency according to their com-

Mo. goes into the City and demands taxes.

mand, being then their ſervant, went to the City, and at *Guildhall* peremptorily demandeth, by order from the Parliament and Councell of State, the payment of their taxes: this ſo ſudden demand, coming from him (from whom they hoped better things) and quite contrary to their expectation, drove the Citizens to ſuch a *non-plus*, that for a time they were as extaſied not knowing what to ſay, but at laſt, recollecting ſomewhat of an Engliſh temper, they return this anſwer. *That in* Magna Charta *confirmed by the Petition of right, and renewed by the preſent Parliament, a day before their forceable diſſolution upon the* 11 *of* October, *they were to pay no taxes, &c. but by their conſent in Parliament, which now they had not:* yet to avoid giving any offence, they deſire time to conſider of it, which the Generall grants, but in the mean time writes to the houſe to know their pleaſure, to which they preſently anſwer, that 1. he ſhould impriſon Col. *Bromfield*, Alderman *Bludworth*, L. C. *Jackſon*, Major *Cox*, Col. *Vincent*, *&c.* Some of which had waited upon him from the City but a little before; 2. that he ſhould remove their chains, dig up their poſts, and break their gates.

M. *his carriage in that exigent of affairs.*

Theſe ſtrange orders being brought to him, did a litle ſtartle him, knowing they were ſent as well to try his patience and obedience; as to breed an open enmity between him and the City, thereby to compell him to ſerve them perpetually, by being aſſured that they were mortall enemies; yet not willing, ſince he had gone ſo fart with ſucceſs, to looſe all now by paſſion, he with ſilence obeyes them readily, and thereby cleerly finds the temper of the City to be poſitively reſolute for Liberty and right, ſo that being ſenſible they might be truſted, he hopes ſhortly to make them an a-

mends,

mends, which he had an occaſion offered to do ſoon e than he expected, for the Parliament had a double deſign upon him, firſt to weaken him in his intereſt and credit, by an imployment which they knew would ſo incenſe the City, and then while he is acting their unreaſonable commands, they are buſie in undermining him in his power; for when he had done their deſign as they thought, to the enraging of the Citizens, and breeding in their hearts revengefull thoughts, he returnes to *White-Hall* upon *Friday* the 10th. Day of *February*, upon which day his Commiſſion did expire, inſtead of the renewing whereof, which he might with much juſtice have expected, as the reward of his merit, he is made a Colonel again, and only made equal in command with ſix men more, as ſhort of him in deſert, as in honeſty, wherewith when he had acquainted the Officers of his Army, who were much unſatisfied with ſuch a reward for their late abominated imployment, agreed unanimouſly among themſelves, that the Parliament intended to lay them aſide, notwithſtanding their former faithfull ſervice to them, and to perpetuate the Nations ſlavery, by their dateleſneſs: and therefore they reſolved to march with their General into the City to joyn with them, and declare for a free Parliament: to this purpoſe a conference is had at the Three Tunnes near *Guild-hall*, where the City and Army ſtrike hands, at which time his Excellencies Officers remonſtrate the reſent they had of the violence they were commanded to offer that famous City, which was of a ſtamp unparalleled in the moſt horrid rage of former ages, whoſe barbarouſneſs even ſpared that, when they haraſſed the whole Nation beſide, then give warning of ſeveral perſons, both with-

Is ungeneall'd.

He joynes with the City.

in and without the City, whose tyrannous minds they feared, abhorring in an especiall manner a late petition delivered in the house by one *Praise-God Barebone*, being a treasonous libell, subversive of all order and Government, dangerous to religion, both in discipline and worship, and destructive to all Lawes, Statutes and Customes, even in fundamentalls, wishing at last the Parliament to think of determining their Session, and provide for future Parliaments.

This being, by his Officers I say, presented to his Excellency, and by him in a letter communicated to the Speaker, he marcheth into *London*, and taketh quarters, declaring for a free Parliament; and this blow was it, made Independency stagger, for so highly were both City and Country pleased with this Declaration, that they did hardly know in what manner to express their joy, ringing their bells, making bonfires, the air resounding nothing but the name and prayses of *Monck*, and the Streets filled with gratefull hearts, who on bended knees prayed for blessings on the head of the hoped restorer, both of the Church and Common-wealth, and in this resolution he persisted, notwithstanding all the flatteries, threatnings and snares of the house, who now studied nothing more than his ruine, as in him foreseeing their own, nevertheless he waits for the Parliaments answer to his last letters to them, but finding they neither minded him nor them, and thought of nothing but setling their own interest, and continuing themselves in power, he procures a conference between some fitting members of the house, and some of the honourable Gentlemen and worthy Patriots that were excluded from it, at which himself being in person present, and weighing judiciously

Free P. promised

diciously the reaſons and arguments formed on both ſides, which he heard with a deep and reſerved ſilence, after all were withdrawn, he concluded with himſelf, upon reſult from the whole, that the pretended ſettlement propoſed by the houſe, was of compaſs too narrow, and too weak of foundation to bear up the Nation, and repair its breaches: he reſolved therefore to withdraw all manner of force from the houſe, and to admit men of more ſober, moderate, and leſs byaſſed judgments, whoſe Spirits being more apt for publick good, would eſtabliſh the Kingdom, upon termes comprehenſive of every conſiderable intereſt therein: hereupon, on the one and twentyeth day of *February*, meeting the ſecluded members at *White-hall*, and expreſſing himſelf to them in a ſpeech not delivered by himſelf, but by his Secretary, wherein he commended to their care, *Secluded members admitted.*

1. Religion, that great *primum mobile & unum neceſſarium*, without which to live rather befits beaſts than men, and this was propoſed in the moſt ſober and moderate way imaginable, yet neither countenancing errour nor allowing libertiniſme.

2. He commended to them the State, deſiring them to be good Phyſitians to its crazed body, by applying ſuteable Phyſick, which (he ſaid) he ſuppoſed would be a full and a free Parliament, upon whoſe reſolves, as himſelf; ſo he doubted not but the whole Nation would acquieſce, he told them the houſe was open for them to enter, and prayed for their good ſucceſs.

The ſecluded members being thus admitted, fall immediately to work where they were abruptly forced to break of in *December.* 1648. Confirming their Vote made then by another now, that the conceſſions *How they begin and wherein proceed.*

of

of the late King were a ſufficient ground to proceed on for ſetling the peace of the Kingdom, hereby not only vindicating themſelves, but as it were at once diſanulling all that had been done as diſſonant thereto, during the whole time of their receſs.

This began to infuſe a new ſpirit of life into the Kingdom, in whom at this ſpringing ſeaſon of the year, began a new to bud and peep out the bloomes of a too long froſt-nipped loyalty, ſo that one now might have ſeen what twenty years before could never ſhew, countenances, that lately were dejected through the cruell tyranny of their Ægipitian task maſters, now gather cheerfull looks, and like freſh blown roſes yield a fragant ſavour.

The Parliament thus ſitting, freely vote his Excellency Lord Generall of all the forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: by vertue of which Commiſſion he diſarmes all the Phanatick party, both in City and Country, the Parliament in the mean time providing to ſecure the Nation by two ſeaſonable Acts, the one of Aſſeſſment, and the other of the Militia; the laſt impowering and arming Gentlemen, and Men of worth and power, to ſtand up for their Liberties, and Priviledges, and put the Country into a poſture of defence, againſt all encroaching pretenders whatſoever; and the former enabling them to raiſe moneyes (which are the ſinewes of war) for maintaining of the forces, ſo raiſed to aſſert their and our rights.

Thus ſetling the ancient Government of the City, and vacating the Phanatick power in the Country, they commend the eſtabliſhment of the Nation to a full and free Parliament, to be called the 25th. of *Aprill*, 1660. Iſſuing out writs to that purpoſe in the name

name of the keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by authority of Parliament, and setling a Councell of State of most discreet and moderate men, to whom the affairs of the three Nations, in the intervall, and untill the meeting of the Parliament, on the aforesaid 25th. of *April* was committed, who with much discretion managed their power, to the satisfaction of all sober minded men, and so (saving to the house of Lords their rights, notwithstanding the Commons were in this juncture of time, put upon necessity to act without them) commending the Souldiery once more to his Excellency upon the sixteenth day of *March*, in the year of our Lord 1659. (a day worthy to be remembred) they dissolved themselves, and so at last put a legall period to that fatall long-Parliament, which could not be dissolved by any but by it self. *Long P. legally ended.*

And thus we see Independency laid in the dust, and ready to give up the ghost, and indeed not long after we shall see fully to expire the *Prodromi*, of whose miserable end might be these and the like.

The Councel of State in this intervall of power, with very great caution and wariness, manage their affairs, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, but keeping a direct course, as knowing *in medio ibunt tutissimi*, they set out a Proclamation against all disturbers of the peace, under what pretence or name soever, sparing none that in a time of such hopes durst either move a hand or tongue to work a disturbance, taking care also that the order of the last Parliament touching elections should be duly and punctually observed, as considering that the peace or ruine of the Nation would lye in their hands. *The intervall.* *Elections for a new Parl.*

His Excellency the Lord Generall in this *interregnum* accepts of severall invitations and treatments in the City

City by several of the worthy companies, yet still having an eye to the main, he keeps close to his Officers (who were not yet fully resolved) and often confers with them in a more familiar manner than ordinary, whereby he so wrought on them, that at last he brought them to declare that they would acquiesce in the resolves of the approaching Parliament; and indeed this was a shrewd forerunner of the fall of Independency, as I said before, whose only hope was builded on the averseness of these men to lawfull power, which when they saw frustrated they might well depair; yet endeavour once more to endeavour a confusion, which being observed by the Councell, and that a discontented Spirit possessed some of the old Officers and Grandees, according to the power given them to that purpose, they send for all suspected persons, confining them unless they subscribed an engagement to demean themselves, quietly, and peaceably, under the present Government, and acquiesce submissively in the determination of the Parliament next ensuing, which reasonable engagment *Lambert* and some others refusing, were carefully confined to several prisons, by which means the peace was wonderfully preserved: but notwithstanding all this care, such were the restless endeavours of that divellish faction, that (whether by the neglect or treachery of his keepers is not yet known) *Lambert* gets out of prison cuningly, who being a man of loose principles and desperate fortunes, so encouraged the Phanatick party, and stirred up their drooping Spirits, that they began to threaten great matters, and for perfecting their wicked design, begin to gather to an head near *Edg-hill*, which they hoped would prove to them an auspicious Omen for the beginning of a Second war, but Heaven would no longer

longer wink at such intollerable villanies, for the sins of these *Amorites* were fully ripe for judgment, so that they were discovered and quickly nipped in the bud, *Lambert* and his accomplices being so eagerly pursued by Col. *R. Ingoldsby* that they were suddenly forc'd to scatter and shift for themselves by flight, neither was that so swift or secure, but that *Lambert* was taken prisoner by the said Col. *Ingoldsby*, and sent prisoner up to *London*, at which time passing by *Hide park*, on the twenty fourth of *Ayril*, he saw all the City Regiments both of horse and foot, Trayned Band and Auxiliaries, compleated, armed, and trayned, and ready to hazard their Lives and Fortunes against all seditious and factious Traitors to their King and Country. *Taken and sent to the Tower.*

The news of this first appearance of armed loyalty being spred abroad into the Countreys, did so animate and encourage the old oppressed, that casting off their fetters and fears together, they begin to appear in their wonted guise, and because they were by the Phanaticks traduced as men of blood and full of revenge, not to be satisfied but with the utter ruine of their adversaries, thereupon to undeceive the vulgar, who might possibly have been misled by such lies, if not answered, did from their several and respective Counties, as also in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* declare, that they were far from any thoughts of revenge, it belonging to God alone (alluding to that text of Scripture, *Vengeance is mine, I will repay saith the Lord*) but as for Justice they would acquiesce in the judgment of the approaching Parliament. *The first loyal muster.* *The Gentry declare.*

This being done, and the whole Parliament at the appointed time, beginning first with their duty to God (they follow that golden *Pythagorean* rule.) *The Parliament begins.*

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεοὺς, νόμῳ ὡς διάκεινται
Τίμα· καὶ σέβου ὅρκον.)———

giving him hearty thanks for that their freedome of meeting, which when they had cordially done, they fell in order to their Governour ——

First, They fear God, then honour the King. As the same Pythagoras goes on;

——————— ἐπειθ' ἡρῷας ἀγαύους
Τοὺς τε καταχθονίους σέβε δαίμονας ἔννομα ῥέζων

The very Heathen we see, by the meer light of Nature, could dictate that which our Grand *Enthusiasts* of Religion would not for these many years, by the *ignis fatuus* of their new lighted notion walk after. But the Parliament were better principled, for after their devotions regularly paid to God, they in the very next place own their duty to their Prince, upon the first day of *May* (a happy day to be remembred to posterity) voting the Government to be by King, Lords, and Commons, a constitution so incomparably mixed, that it may rather be admired then envied: neither were they satisfied to rest there but on the Eighth day of the same *May*, caused his Majesty to be proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, which was performed with so much Solemnity and Joy, as I presume *England*, I dare say hardly any Kingdome in the World, ever saw or were sensible of the like, the shouts and acclamations of the pleased people rending the very skies as a token of their extraordinary Thankfulnesse to Heaven, and at night by the multitude of their bonfires, turning the Darknesse into a kind of lightsome day.

Kingly government voted.

King proclaimed.

This hapy beginning thus owned by the general consent of all honest men, made the Parliament resolute to prosecute

cute their begun endeavours, which the more orderly to do (for order befitteth men best both as Subjects and Christians) they immediately prepared Commissioners, who were persons choyce for their integrity and wisedome, (like those heads of the children of *Issachar* which were men that had understanding of the times to know what *Israel* ought to do) being intrusted to wait on his Majesty, and to desire him to come to his Parliament and People with all convenient speed. Before whose arrival his Majesty had withdrawn himself from *Bruxels*, not upon any account as was by the ignorant and malicious insinuated, but out of a design of safe guard to his own sacred Person, as knowing those two principles of the *Romanists*, (*si violandum est jus, Regni causa violandum est*; and *nulla fides servanda est hæreticis*) might prove dangerous, if not fatal to his interest as affairs then stood. He well remembred *Richard* the first his case sirnamed *Cœur-de-Lion*, and what his detention once cost *England*, and therefore had no reason to cast himself into the like hazard. Therefore having discharged all Accounts whatsoesoever at *Bruxels*, he as (I said) removes his Court to *Breda*. As that first, he might hold the more certain and quick intelligence with his friends in *England*, where there hardly wanted any thing to complete his Restoration and the Kingdomes satisfaction, but his Personal presence; so in the second place he there knew himself safe, being within the jurisdiction of his beloved sister, the Princesse Royal *Mary* Princesse of *Orange*, whose tender love and zeal to him in his affliction deserves to be written in brasse, and graven with the point of a Diamond.

Commissioners sent to the King

King at Breda.

During the time of his residence there to shew himself

himſelf to be a ſecond *Solomon*, a Prince of Peace, and not onely ſo, but the moſt pious and merciful of Princes, who was wiſe as a Serpent, yet innocent as a Dove, by the Honourable the Lord Viſcount *Mordant* and Sir *Richard Grenvile* (ſince by his Majeſties ſpecial grace created Earl of *Bath*) Gentleman of his Majeſties Bedchamber; He ſent a moſt gracious Declaration, with reſpective Letters to the Lords, to the Commons, to the City, and to the Army:

Whetein,

His Majeſties Declaration layes Independency dead.

His Majeſty firſt offers a Pardon for all miſcarriages and miſdemeanors againſt his Father, or himſelf, to all perſons (ſuch onely excepted as ſhall be excepted by the Parliament,) promiſing likewiſe ſecuritie to all, whoſe guilt might otherwiſe endanger them, ſo as they laid hold on his Majeſties Pardon within 40. dayes after the publication thereof.

2. *He refers the purchaſers of Kings, Queens, and Biſhops Lands to Juſtice, to the Law, and to the Parliament.*

3. *He aſſures the Souldiery of their Arrears for paſt ſervices, although done againſt him, and of incouragement and pay for the future under him.*

This Declaration was received with no ordinary joy and ſolemnity, the meſſenger Sr. *John Greenvil* being rewarded

warded with 500. pounds to buy him a Jewell, and upon reading thereof and a conference had with the Lords, (who had now reaſſumed their Native right by taking their places in the higher Houſe) they agree unanimouſly each in their ſeveral houſe; That a Letter be ſent in anſwer to his Majeſties gracious Letter and Declaration, ſuperſcribed *To his moſt Excellent Majeſtie*; which were ſince more immediately drawn up and ſent by Commiſſioners (before prepared as is already mentioned) ſixe from each Houſe, who were in the name of both Houſes,

1. To give his Majeſty moſt humble and hearty thanks for his gracious Letter and Declaration.

2. To deſire his Majeſty to return to the exerciſe of his Regal Office, and come to his Parliament and people with all ſpeed poſſible.

And thirdly, to that purpoſe to deſire him to appoint a place for the Navy to attend him: the Commiſſioners that went from the houſe of Peeres were theſe.

Commiſſioners names that went to the King.

The Earl of *Oxford*, Earl of *VVarwick*, Earl of *Middleſex*, } Lord *Brook*, Lord *Berckley*, Lord Viſc. *Hereford*.

Of the Houſe of Commons were ſelected theſe following,

Lord *Charleton*, Lord *Bruce*, Lord *Falkland*, Lord *Mandevile*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord *Fairefax*. } Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Antho. Aſhly-Cooper*, Sir *Horatio Townſend*, Sir *Henry Cholmly*, Mr. *Hollis*.

The

The City of *London* having alſo received the like Letters and Declarations, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council appoint a loyal and humble anſwer to be returned, wherein they give his Majeſty thanks for his tender care, grace and favour to their ancient and renowned City, which was ſent by theſe worthy Gentlemen.

For the City of *London.*

Alderman *Adams*	*William Bateman* Eſq.
Recorder *VVilde*	Alderman *Bludworth*
Alderman *Robinſon*	Major *Chamberlin*
Alderman *Bateman*	Colonel *Bromfield*
Theophilus Biddolph	Sir *James Bunce* Bar.
Richard Ford	Alderman *Langham*
Alderman *Vincent*	Alderman *Reinoldſon*
Alderman *Frederick*	Alderman *Brown*
Alderman *VVale*	Sir *Nicholas Criſpe*
John Lewis Eſquire	Alderman *Tompſon*

All theſe Letters were ſent away, but the firſt that arrived to his Majeſties hand was from his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*, who by the leave of the Houſe ſent the ſame by his brother in Law, Sir *Thomas Clergies* who was (as being the firſt) beyond all expreſſion welcome, and after ſome long but not tedious conferences Knighted, and at length diſmiſſed with as much kindneſſe as he was at firſt received with joy.

Commiſſioners how received by the King.

After whom arrived ſhortly all the forenamed Commiſſioners, together with ſome of the Miniſtry, and were received by his ſacred Majeſty, his two illuſtrious brothers of *York* and *Gloceſter*, and his ſiſter of *Orange*

Orange, with demonſtrations of affections on both ſides ſuch as are not capable of a deſcription by my rude pen, for they were ſuch as may be imagined onely not defined, like the joyes of a condemned ſoul now at point to dy, when ſuddenly and beyond expectation it is not onely ſnatcht out of the very jawes of death, but mounted aloft into a ſeat of Honour, how it is even overpreſſed with the overflux of ſuch a ſudden, yet joyful change, and ſtands extaſied, not knowing, or at leaſt not well diſcerning the realities of thoſe violent emotions under the happineſſe whereof it at preſent labours; which ſurpaſſing joy grown over, and they diſmiſſed with abundance of ſatisfaction, with all ſpeed his Majeſty according to the earneſt requeſt of his Parliament prepared for *England*, his Royal brother, the moſt illuſtrious Duke of *York*, Lord high Admiral, taking order for the Navy. And in the way to the Seaſide his Majeſty was honourably entertained by the States General at the *Hague*, of whom having taken his leave, and thanked them for their Treatment and Preſents, he proceeded in his journey.

During this time, the Navy under the conduct of General *Mountague*, was come to attend and wait on his Royal pleaſure; upon notice of which, attended by the Princeſſe of *Orange* and her ſon, and the Queen of *Bohemia*, he comes aboard the *Naſeby* Frigot, by him then named the *Charles*, and after a repaſt there, parting with high ſatisfaction, pleaſure and content on both ſides, with his Royal and Princely attendants, he lanched forth, and quickly with a proſperous and ſafe gale of wind, *annuente Cælo*, came within two leagues of *Dover*, (a place formerly not ſo infamous for receiving the Barons in their rebellious wars againſt the King, and

The King comes aboard for England, and lands at Dover.

Monck *meets him.*

and harbouring *Lewis* of *France*, as now it was famous for its loyalty in the joyful reception of its lawful Soveraign) when he was come thither, he ſends Poſt for the General (being reſolved not to ſet foot on *Engliſh* ground till he came thither) who upon the firſt hearing of that happy news, preſently took Poſt to meet him, having before taken care for Pallaces to entertain him, and left order for ſeveral Regiments of Horſe to attend him, for his Majeſties ſecurity; Providing with valor againſt open enemies, and with prudence againſt pretended and baſely falſe friends, which being performed according to Order, His Excellency waites upon his Majeſty at *Dover*.

He is no ſooner come thirher, but upon knowledge thereof, the King Landed, at whoſe Honored feet in the moſt humble poſture of a Loyal Subject, on his Knees Our Great General preſents himſelf, and was received and imbraced by his Majeſty in the open armes of an endeared mercy, with ſo much affection as might well manifeſt the great reſpect the King bore to his high deſerts; for to ſhew that his embrace was ſignal, and far from a meer complement, he went nearer and kiſſed him. No endearment is ever thought too great, where there is grounded Love, neither reſted he there, but like a true friend and lover indeed, takes a delight in his ſociety; for the more clear demonſtration whereof to all the world, he took him with his two Brothers the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* into his Coach with him to *Dover* aforeſaid, where after a dutiful acknowledgment from the Magiſtrates there, and ſolemn though ſhort entertainment he rid to the City of *Canterbury* (ſo famed for her Arch-biſhops Sea) his Majeſty being in the middle between his two

KINGS journey to London, and the manner of it.

two brothers; and the Duke of *Buckingham* and the General riding bare before him.

In this Equipage with the whole Gentry and Nobility of *England* attending, and thouſands of the meaner ranke; he arrived as I ſaid at *Canterbury*, being met by the Magſtracy in their richeſt habiliments of Honour, andby the Miniſtry of the place, who after a grave Speech and hearty Gratulation, preſented him with a rich Bible as *He was Defender of the True Faith*, and afterwards with a Golden Boul full of Gold, rendring it *as a Tribute to him to whom Tribute was due.* From *Canterbury*, where he reſted all *Sunday*, and gave thanks to God his Father and mighty Deliverer. On *Munday* he came to *Cobham-Hall* in *Kent*, a Houſe belonging to the Duke of *Richmond*, but without any ſtay there paſſed on the ſame night to *Rocheſter*, from whence on *Tueſday*, *May* the 29. (the day of the week which was fatal for the murther of his Royal Father, but happy to himſelf, not onely for his Birth, but alſo for giving the firſt hopes of his long wiſhed and prayed for return by the Vote of the Parliament on *Tueſday* the 1. of *May*, and his being proclaimed *nemine contradicente* on *Tueſday* the 8. of *May*.) I ſay on that day, attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earle of *North-hampton*, the Earle of *Cleaveland*, the Earle of *Norwich*, the Earle of *Shrewesbury*, and many others with their ſeveral reſpective Troops of the choyce Nobles and Gentry of the Land, and his Excellency with many Regiments of his beſt Horſe, the Lord *Gerard* with the choyce Life-guard, and the whole Countrey flocking in, & cutting down Palmes, and ſtrowing the wayes with all ſorts of Fragrant Flowers and decking the Lanes and Paſſage, with the greateſt variety of

Country Pomps, Garlands, beset with Rings, Ribands, and the like, the Air ecchoing all along and redoubling the perpetually iterated *Hosanna's*; He came to *London* (*The Metropolis of his Kingdome*, whose preparations were no lesse sumptuous then joyful,) making a short stay onely at *Black-heath*; (a place many yeares since, and more then once noted and remembred for the tumultuous assemblies of several Rebels, but now much more famous for the united Congregation of the whole Kingdomes Loyalty:) from hence about noon, order was given for a speedy march to *London*, in which Major General *Brown* did lead the Van with a compleat Troop of Gentlemen, all in cloth of Silver Doublets: Alderman *Robinson* followed him with another select company, the severall Lords came after with their respective Troops, then came the Life-Guard; After the Marshals and Heralds, with some antient Lords, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord Generall bareheaded; and then his Majesty rid between his two brothers, the Duke of *York* on the right hand, and the Duke of *Gloucester* on the other; after whom followed his Excellencies Life-guard, and then the Regiments of the Army all completely accoutred with back breast and Pot. In this order they came to Saint *Georges* fields, in a part of which towards *Newington* was a Tent erected, in which the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen in their most solemne Formalities, with their Officers, Servants, Livery-men, and Lackeyes innumerable waited, to which place when his Majesty came, the Lord Mayor presented him on his knees with all the *Insignia* of the City, *viz. Sword, Mace, Charter*, &c. Which he immediately returned with promise of Confirmation, and conferred the Ho-

King rides through the Citie.

nour

nour of Knighthood on the Lord Mayor in the place, whereafter a short refreshment, three hundred in Velvet Coats and Chains representing the several Companies passing on before, the Lord Mayor bearing the Sword before the King, they proceeded in an excellent order and equipage into and through the City, which was all hung with Tapistry, and the Streets lined on the one side with Livery men, on the other side with the Trained Bands, both taking and giving great satisfaction, until at last even tyred with the tedious pleasure of his Welcome Journey, he came to the Gate of his Pallace of *Whitehall*, which struck such an impression of greif into his sacred heart, by the Remembrance of his Fathers horrid Murther there, as had almost burst forth, if not stopt or recalled by the Joy he received from the acclamations of the people, and the thought that he was peaceably returned after so many years unto His own House.

The King being come in, went presently to the Banquering House, where the Houses of Parliament attended for him, to whom the two Speakers severally made an incomparable Speech, wherein, with great eloquence, they set forth the many years misery under which the Nation laboured, then repeated the Kingdomes Joyes at present, for their hoped happinesse in the future by his Majesties Restauration, and so commended to his Princely care his three Kingdomes and people, with their Laws and priviledges, whereto the King in a Majestick style, made this short, but full return.

That he was so disordered by his Journey, and the Acclamations of the people still in his Ears, which yet pleased him as they were demonstrations of Affection and Loyalty, that he could not express himself so full as he wished, yet promised them, that looking first to Heaven with a Thank-ful heart for his Restoration, he would have a careful Eye of especial grace and favour towards his Three Kingdomes, protesting that he would as well be a Defendor of their Laws, liberties, & properties, as of their faith.

Having thus received and taken several Congratulations and Entertaiments, and dismissed his Noble, Honourable, Worshipful, aud Reverend Guard of the Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, and Ministry, he retired to Supper, and afterwards having devoutly offered the Sacrifice of Prayer and Praise to the most high, for his safe return, he went to his Repose and Bed. The first Beam that darted from our Royal Sun, infused such a sense of piety into the peoples Affection, that it even made them break into an Excess of Joy, it was that happy Omen of a vertuous Government, the admirable Proclamation against debauchednesse, (wherein such is his Majesties zeal) he takes no notice of his Enemies, but our sin which had so long occasioned his exile, not sparing therein those who pretended to be his friends, yet by their prophaneneſſe, disserved him. A happy Prince and happy people sure

ſure! where the Extremity of Juſtice endevoureth to take nothing from the Subject but a Liberty to offend, which ſo highly pleaſed the people, that their Joyes rather increaſed then diminiſhed according to that of the Poet.

—— Littora cum plauſu clamor, ſuperaſq; Deorum
Implevere Domos, gaudent, generumq; ſalutant
Auxiliumque Domus ſervatoremq; fatentur.

The Shores ring with applauſe, the Heavens abound
With grateful Clamours which therein reſound.
All men ſalute him, Father, Prince, and King;
That home again their baniſh'd peace doth bring.

Which is further alſo expreſſed by the Poet in theſe words,

—— Largis ſatiantur odoribus ignes
Sertaque dependent tectis, & ubique lyraque
Tibiaque & cantus animi felicia læti
Argumenta ſonant: reſeratis aurea valvis
Atria tota patent, pulchroq; inſtructa parata
—— Proceres ineunt convivia Regis.

The Bonfires light the Skie, Garlands adorn
The Streets and Houſes: Nothing is forborn
That might expreſs full joy, while to his Court
The King by Nobles follow'd doth reſort,
And in their Feaſts Gods wondrous Acts report.

So

So restless were the Nights of our pious King, that he began to account all time spent in vain and amisse, wherein he did not do or offer some good to his Kingdome: to this purpose, on the first of *June*, (the very next day but one after his Arrival, accompanied with his two Brothers and Sir *Edward Hide*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, with many other honourable persons, went by water to the House of Lords, where having seated himself in his Royal seat, the Black Rod was sent to the Commons to inform them of his being there: They immediately adjourned, and with their Speaker, waited his Majesties pleasure, who in a short speech acquainted them with the Occasion and Cause of his present sending for them, *viz.* To pass those Bills which he understood were prepared for him; the said Bills being therefore read according to ancient form by the Clerk of the Crown, were passed by his Majesty,

First, The Bill constituting the present Convention to be a Parliament.

Secondly, For authorizing the Act of Parliament for 70000. *l. per mens.* for 3 moneths.

Thirdly, For Continuance of *Easter* Term and all proceedings at Law, which done the Lord Chancellor *Hide* in a pithy Speech, told both Houses with how much readinesse his Majesty had passed these Acts and how willing they should at all times hereafter find him, to pass any other that might tend to the advantage and benefit of the people, desiring in his Majesties behalf, the Bill of Oblivion to be speeded, that the people might see and know his Majesties extraordinary gracious care to ease and free them from their

their doubts and fears, and that he had not forgotten his gracious Declaration made at *Breda*, but that he would in all points make good the same.

Things being brought to that happy issue, the King wholly intends to settle the Kingdome, and because that in the multitude of Counsellors there is both peace and safety, he nominates and elects to himself a Privy Councel, whereof were,

The Duke of *York*	Lord *Seymour*.
The Duke of *Glocester*.	Lord *Say*.
The Duke of *Somerset*.	Lord *Howard*.
The Duke of *Albemarle*.	Sir *Atho. Ashly Cooper*.
The Marquis of *Ormond*.	Sir *William Morris*.
The Earl of *Manchester*.	Mr. *Hollis*.
The Earl of *Oxford*.	Mr. *Annesley*.
The Earl of *Northampton*.	

On several such men he bestowed great offices, as Marquess of *Ormand* to be Lord Steward of His Honourable Household, The Earl of *Manchester* Lord Chamberlain. The Duke of *Albemarle* to be Master of the Horse, and Knight of the Garter. Sir *Will. Morris* one of the Secretaries of State: which took up some time, in which the Parliament according to the Kings desire proceeded in the Act of Oblivion, which at last, after many tedious and strong debates passed both Houses, and on the day of in the Twelfth year of his Majesties Reign, had his Royal assent and was confirmed, wherein were excepted from pardon both as to Life and Estate,

John

John Liſle	*John Downes*
William Say	*Nicholas Love*
Sir *Hardreſſe Waller*	*Vincent Potter*
Valentine Wauton	*Auguſtine Garland*
Thomas Harriſon	*John Dixwell*
Edward Whalley	*George Fleetwood*
John Hewſon	*Simon Meyne*
William Goffe	Sir *Michael Liveſey*
Cornelius Holland	*Robert Titchburn*
Thomas Chaloner	*Owen Row*
John Carew	*Robert Lilburn*
John Jones	*Adrian Scroop*
Miles Corbet	*John Okey*
Henry Smith	*James Temple*
Gregory Clement	*Peter Temple*
Thomas Wogan	*Daniel Blagrave*
William Heveningham	*Thomas Wayte*
Iſaac Pennington	*John Cooke*
Henry Martin	*Andrew Broughton*
John Barkſtead	*Edward Dendy*
Gilbert Millington	*William Hewlet*
Edmund Ludlow	*Hugh Peters*
Edmund Harvey	*Francis Hacker,*
Thomas Scot	and
William Cauley	*Daniel Axtell.*

Who had ſate in judgement on, ſentenced to death and did ſign the inſtrument for the horrid murther, and taking away the precious Life of our late Soveraign Lord King *Charles* the Firſt, of Glorious memory; ſeveral of whom have by divers means in ſundry places been taken, and others have ſurrendred themſelves according

according to a Proclamation of ſummons ſet out by the King for that purpoſe, the perſons that ſurrendred themſelves were theſe.

Owen Row
Auguſtine Garland
Edmund Harvey
Henry Smith
Henry Marten
Simon Meyne
William Heveningham
Iſaac Pennington
Sir *Hardreſs Waller*
Robert Titchborn
George Fleetwood
James Temple
Thomas Wayte
Peter Temple
Robert Lilburn
Gilbert Millingon.
Vincent Potter,
Thomas Wogan,
and
John Downes,

And therefore though they be all attainted & convicted of High Treaſon by the Law of the Land at a fair and legal Trial by a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* directed to ſeveral of the Judges learned in the Law, and to divers other worthy and honourable perſons, yet they are not to ſuffer the pains of death, but their executions are to be ſuſpended until his Majeſty by the advice and aſſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament ſhall order the execution by Act of Parliament to be paſſed to that purpoſe.

The perſons that have been taken were,

Thomas Harriſon
Adrian Scroop
John Carew
John Jones
Francis Hacker
Gregory Clement
Thomas Scot
John Cooke
Hugh Peters
Daniel Axtel,
and
William Heulet.

Thomas Harrison having received his Tryal, and being condemned to be hanged, drawn and quartered, accordingly on *Saturday* betwixt nine and ten of the clock in the morning the thirteenth of *October* 1660, he was drawn upon a hurdle from *Newgate*, to the place that is rayled in by *Charing-cross*, where a Gibbet was erected, and he hanged with his face looking towards the Banqueting-house at *White-hall* (the fatal place pitched upon by those infernal Regicides, for the solemn murther of our late Soveraign *Charles* the first, of glorious memory) when he was half dead, the common Hangman cut him down, cut off his privy members before his eyes, then burned his bowels, severed his head from his body, and divided his body into four quarters, which were sent back upon the same sledge that carried it, to the prison of *Newgate*, from thence his head was brought and set on a pole at the *South* end of *Westminster-hall*, looking toward the City of *London*, but his Quarters are exposed to view, as a publick example upon some of the Gates of the same City.

His pleading at his arraignment were nothing but treasonable and seditious speeches, rather justifying the crime he had committed, then any whit relenting; and so he continued a desperate Schismatick to the Church of *England* to the last moment of his breath.

2. *John Carew* was the next that followed, who at the time of his tryal, endevoured onely to justify the late Rump and their actings, but that would not serve his turn, for it was proved that he did consult and meet together with others how to put the King to death, that he sate at the time of the sentence, and signed the Warrant for execution, so that the

Jury

Jury found him guilty of compassing and imagining the Kings death; for which he was also condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, *&c.* which sentence on *Monday* the fifteenth of *October*, in the morning, was put in execution on the body of the said *Carew*, his Quarters being likewise carried back on the Hurdle to *Newgate*; but such was the goodness of his Majesty, that upon the humble intercession of his friends, he was graciously pleased to give them his body to be buried, though his execrable treasons had merited the contrary.

3,4. The next in order, were Mr. *John Coke* the Solicitor, and Mr. *Hugh Peters* that Carnal Prophet, and Jesuitical Chaplain to the trayterous High Court; upon *Coke*'s Trial it was proved against him, that he examined witnesses against the King, that he was at the drawing of the Charge, that he exhibited it in the name of the Commons assembled in Parliament, and the good people of *England*, that this Charge was of High Treason, that he complained of delayes, prayed that the Charge might be taken *pro Confesso*, and at last, that it was not so much he as innocent blood that demanded Justice, and that notwithstanding all this, he acknowledged the King to be a gracious and wise King, upon which the Jury found him guilty.

2. Then *Peters* was set to the Bar, against whom was proved, that he did at five several places consult about the Kings death, at *Windsor*, at *Ware*, in *Coleman-street*, in the *Painted Chamber*, and in *Bradshaw*'s house, that he compared the King to *Barrabas*, and preached to binde their Kings in chaines, *&c.* That he had been in *New England*, that he came thence to destroy the King and foment war, that he had been in

arms, and called the day of his Majesties Tryal a glorious day, resembling the judging of the world by the Saints that he prayed for it in the *Painted Chamber*, preached for it at *White-hall*, St. *James's* Chappel, St. *Sepulchres*, and other places: upon which proofes the Jury finding him guilty also, of compassing and imagining the Kings death, the Court sentenced them, *viz.* (*Cooke* and *Peters* both) to be led back to the place from whence they came, and from thence to be drawn upon a Hurdle to the place of execution, *&c.* On *Tuesday* following, being the sixteenth of *October*, they were drawn upon two Hurles to the rayled place near *Charing-cross*, and executed in the same manner as the former, and their Quarters returned to the place whence they came: since which, the head of *John Cooke* is set on a Pole on the *North-east* end of *Westminster-hall* (on the left of Mr. *Harrisons*) looking towards *London*; And the head of Mr. *Peters* is placed on *London* Bridge, their Quarters also being exposed upon the tops of some of the Gates of the City.

5. The next brought to Tryal, were *Scot* and *Clement*, *Scroope*, and *Jones*; against *Thomas Scot* was proved, that he did sit and consult about the Kings death, that he agreed to the sentence, and signed the Warrant, whereby the King was murthered, that since he hath owned the business of the Kings death, by glorying in it, defending it, and saying he would have it engraven on his Tomb-stone, that all the world might know it, which being high aggravations of his crime, he was soon found Guilty by the Jury.

6. Then *Gregory Clement* was set to the Bar, who immediately confessed himself Guilty, *modo & forma*, and

ſo without troubling the Jury was ſet aſide till Judgement.

7. Next was brought Mr. *Iohn Ionos* againſt whom the proofs were ſhort, that he did ſit upon the King in that monſtrous Court, and that he ſigned the Sentence and horrid Inſtrument whereby the King was ordered to be put to death, upon which the Jury found him guilty.

8. Then *Scroop* was tried upon the like Indictment for compaſſing the Kings death, and againſt him was proved that he ſate in the Court, and did Sentence the King, and ſign the bloody Warrant, and after the coming in of his Majeſty that now is, juſtified the committing of that deteſtable murther, for which the Jury finding him guilty, the Court gave ſentence of death againſt them as the former to ſuffer as Traytors, and accordingly on *Wedneſday* the 17. of *October*, about 9. of the clock in the morning. Mr. *Thomas Scot*, and Mr. *Gregory Clement* were brought on ſeveral hurdles to the Gibbet erected near *Charing croſs*, and were there hanged, bowelled and quartered, and about an houre after Mr. *Adrian Scroop*, and Mr. *Iohn Jones* together in one hurdle were carried to the ſame place, and ſuffered the ſame pains of death, being afterwards returned to *Newgate*, and thence their quarters placed on ſeveral of the City Gates, and their heads deſervedly diſpoſed on the top of *London* Bridge and other places.

Theſe being thus diſpatched, & having received the reward of their Treaſon, Mr. *Daniel Axtel*, and Maſter *Francis Hacker* were brought before the Court to be tried; Againſt the firſt of whom, *viz. Axtell*, was in proof, that is the imagining and compaſſing the death of

of the King, that he bid his Souldiers cry out Juſtice, Juſtice, and Execution, Execution; and beat them till they did it; That he bid ſhoot the Lady that ſpoke and call'd *Cromwel* Traytor, ſaying, not a quarter of the people of *England* conſented to their wicked Charge; that he ſaid to Col. *Huncks* upon his refuſal to ſign the warrant for executing the King: *I am aſhamed of you, the Ship is now coming into Harbour, and will you ſtrike ſayle before we come to Anchor*; that he laughed at the Tranſactions, as applauding them while others ſighed; that after the King was murthered, he kept Guards upon the dead body, and knew who cut off the Kings head, having ſent one *Eliſha Axtell* for the Executioner; upon which proof the Jury found him guilty of the ſaid Treaſon whereof he ſtood indicted.

10. *Francis Hacker* was arraigned, and by diverſe witneſſes it was ſworn againſt him, that he was Commander of the Halbeteers, who kept the King priſoner, and would not ſuffer any acceſſe to be unto him; that he guarded him to their mock-Court, and after kept him ſure till he was murthered; that he was one of the perſons to whom the Warrant for execution was directed, and that he ſigned it, that he brought the King to the fatal block and was upon the ſcaffold, being a principal agent about the Kings death; for which horrid Treaſon the Jury found him guilty: after which the Court ſentenced both him and *Axtell* to ſuffer death as Traytors, according to which judgement they were on *Friday* the 19. of *October*, about 9. of the clock in the morning, drawn upon one hurdle from *Newgate* to the common place of execution, generally called *Tyburn*, and there were hanged. Mr. *Axtel* was bowelled and quartered and ſo returned back and diſpoſed as the former,

mer, but the body of Mr. *Hacker*, by his Majeſties great grace and favour, and at the humble ſuit and interceſſion of his friends was given to them entire, and by them afterwards buried.

The laſt of this crew that was for preſent execution was *Will. Hulet*, againſt whom was proved that he was one of thoſe which came with a Frock on his body, and a Vizor on his face to perpetrate the horrid murther on the Perſon of the King, and that being ſo diſguiſed upon the Scaffold, he fell down before the King and asked him forgiveneſſe, being known by his voice; that himſelf ſaid, He was the man that beheaded K. *Charles*, & for that he had one 100 l. and preferment. That *Hewſon* ſaid of him that he did the Kings buſineſs upon the Scaffold; That he either did cut it off, or took it up and ſaid, Behold the head of a Traytor. That being queſtioned about the ſaid words, he ſaid, whoſoever ſaid it matters not; I ſay now, it was the head of a Traytor, with many other things to the like purpoſe; for which moſt abhorred Treaſon, the Jury found him guilty, and he was condemned to be hang'd drawn and quarter'd at *Tyburn*.

This was the deſerved Cataſtrophe that was ſet to theſe men, who without any reaſon, nay contrary to reaſon, Lawes both Divine and Humane, yea, even in defiance of Heaven, dipped their hands in the ſacred blood of their lawful Soveraign, according to that of the Wiſeman, *The eye that mocketh his Father*, (Rex Pater Patriæ) *and deſpiſeth his Mother*, (Eccleſia eſt Mater) *the Ravens of the Valley ſhall pick it out*; which which we ſee befallen them, their heads in ſeveral places being become a ſpectacle both to Angels and Men, and a prey to the Birds of the Aire.

In

In the laſt place, it is provided by the ſaid Act of Oblivion, that if *VVilliam Lenthal*, *VVill. Burton*, *Oliver St. John*, *John Ireton* Alderman, Col. *John Disborrow*, Col. *VVill. Sydenham*, *John Blackwel* of *Moreclack*. *Chriſt. Pack* Alderman, *Richard Keeble*, *Charles Fleetwood*, *John Pyne*, *Rich. Dean*, Major *Richard Creed*, *Philip Nye* Clerk, *John Goodwin* Clerk, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Col. *Thom. Liſter*, and Col. *Raph Cobbet*, ſhall after the 1. of *September* 1660. accept or exerciſe any Office Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military, or any other publick imployment within the Kingdome of *England*, Dominion of *VVales*, or Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, that then ſuch perſon or perſons as do ſo accept or execute as aforeſaid, ſhall to all intents and purpoſes in Law ſtand, as if he, or they had been totally excepted by name in the Act. The like penalty is impoſed on all ſuch who did give ſentence of Death upon any perſon or perſons in any of the late illegal or Tyrannical high Courts of Juſtice, or ſigned the Warrant for execution of any perſon there condemned.

Thus by the bleſsing of God I have waded through the many intricate Meanders and Revolutions, untill at laſt I have as it were brought you by the hand to ſee that deſperate Faction of Indepencency (*as one may ſay,*) *laid into its Grave; all the heads thereof being ſo annihilated by the Juſtice of the known Law of the Land, that I hope its memory ſhall be raked up in ſuch an Eternal forgetfulneſſe, that poſterity ſeeing no foot-ſteps thereof, ſhall conceive it to be a bare name, a mere notion, or* aliquid non ens, *of which in nature there can be no ſubſiſtance.*

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An Appendix.

HOwfar the Treaſons of faction have reached, and how high they durſt ſoare is to be ſeen before, I ſhall onely now in ſhort give a hint how highly the Law of *England* reſents ſuch impious acts: I ſay then, the wiſdome and foreſight of the Laws of this Land in all caſes of Treaſon maketh this judgement: that the Subject that riſeth or rebelleth in forcible, to overrule the royal will and power of the King, intendeth to deprive the King both of Crown and Life, and this is no myſtery or quidity of the Common Law, but an infallible concluſion drawn out of reaſon and experience; for the Crown is not a ceremony or Garland, but as Imperial conſiſteth of preheminence and power. This made former Traytors in all their quarrels againſt their Princes, not to ſtrike down-right, becauſe God unto Lawful Kings did ever impart ſuch beams of his own glory, as Rebels never durſt look ſtraight upon them, but ever turned their pretences againſt ſome about them; this cauſed the Judges ſometime to deliver their opinions for matter in Law upon two points.

The firſt, that in caſe where a ſubject attempteth to put himſelf into ſuch ſtrength as the King ſhall not be able to reſiſt him, and to force and compel the King to govern otherwiſe then according to his own royal authority and direction, it is maniteſt rebellion. 1.

The ſecond, that in every Rebellion, the Law intendeth as a conſequent, the compaſſing the death and deprivation of the King, as foregoing, that the rebel will never ſuffer that King to live or raign, which might puniſh or take revenge of his treaſon; And 2.

this is not onely the wisdome of the Laws of our own Kingdome, but it is also the censure of forraign Laws, the conclusion of common reason, (which is the ground of Law) and the demonstrative assertion of experience, which is the warranty of all reason.

1. For the first the Civil Law, that saith, Treason is nothing else, but *Crimen Læsæ vel diminutæ Majestatis*, making every offence which abridgeth or hurteth the power and authority of the Prince, as an insult or invading of the Crown, and extorting the imperial Scepter.

And for common reason and experience, they cry, it is not possible that a Subject should once come to that height, as to give law to his Soveraign, but what with terror of his own guilt, and what with the insolency of the change he will never permit the King if he can chuse to recover his authority, nay or to live. Experience further tells us, and 'tis confirmed by all stories and examples; two notable ones we had formerly in our own Chronicles, the first of *Edw.* the 2d. who when he kept himself close for danger, was summoned by proclamation to come and take upon him the Government, but as soon as he presented himself, was made prisoner, next forced to resign, and shortly after, was tragically murthered in *Berkly Castle*. The other is of K. *Rich.* the second, before whom the Duke of *Hereford* (afterwards K. *Hen.* the 4th) presented himself with three seemingly humble, but indeed flattering reverences, yet in the end both deposed him and put him to death: but our own experience outvies all else, in the Horrid murther of our late dread Soveraign, which is related in the former parts, the punishment whereof is fully related in this last part, and therefore I shall no more thereof in this place. You

You may have obſerved that the practice of our Regicides was after they had ruined the Gentry, to advance their own kindred and allyes, though never ſo inſufficiently unworthy, to the moſt profitable places of the Common wealth; by which means all kind of exorbitances were committed without controul, the Death of the King being attended with infinite oppreſſions, as in ſuch changes is uſual; which made Writers ſay, that the Death of *Cæſar* was no benefit to the Romans, but rather brought greater Calamities on them they underwent before, as may qe found in *Aſpian.* The ſucceſs was the like when *Nero* fell, for the next year that followed after his Death, felt more oppreſſion, and ſpilt more blood then was ſhed in all thoſe nine years wherein he had ſo tyrannically reigned. So when the *Athenians* had expelled one Tyrant, they brought in thirty; and when the *Romans* expelled their King, they did not put away the Tyranny but only change the Tyrants.

But ſuch and ſo tender is the hand of heaven over us, that he hath not only reſtored our Kings as at the firſt, and all our Counſellors as at the beginning, but brought us home our King ſo accompliſhed and pious, that we muſt needs confeſſe with the Children of *Iſrael*, becauſe the Lord hath a delight in us, therefore hath he made him King over us.

Oh then let us *render* without grudging *unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſars*, acknowledge him as Gods immediate Vicegerent, not preſcribing him in what manner we will be ruled, nor by what means: But in all things with obedience and humility to ſubmit to his command, like *Julian* the Apoſtata's Soldiers who would not ſacrifice at his words, *ſed timendo poteſtatem, contemnebant poteſtatem*, in fearing the power of God, they regarded not the power of man; yet when he led them againſt his enemies

enemies, *Subditi errant propter Dominum eternum, eu[illegible] Domino Temporali.*

I will conclude all with one word of Advice: Sin[illegible] God hath so bettered our condition, that our words [illegible] hardly able to express our happinesse, to avoyd t[illegible] danger of a relapse through a too carelesse security, [illegible] circumspection & moderation take away all bitterness[illegible] rather reflecting on the offences then the persons of a[illegible] offenders, so it may be those concerned will not be [illegible] desperate to proceed on further in their wicked cours[illegible] but with speed retire, and make some recompence [illegible] in,ured parties, by their future provident endevours f[illegible] the Common good. And for these Loyal hearts wh[illegible] have borne the brunt of the storm both at home a[illegible] abroad; since God hath rescued them as brands out [illegible] the fire; 'tis hoped they will be nothing the more sec[illegible] in their vigilant care of future occurrences, havi[illegible] alwayes a provident eye for the timely prevention [illegible] such inconveniencies, as might steal on them in the[illegible] own, or be intended against them from forrain par[illegible] That so the Throne of our *Salomon* may continue fo[illegible] ever, and peace be upon our *Israel.*

Πάντοτε θεῷ δόξα.

Sed & bene velle meretur veniam. Cicero.

THE END.

☞ *There is now in the Press ready to come forth, that [illegible] much desired Book, intituled,* An Exact History of th[illegible] Life and Actions of Hugh Peters: *As also his* Diary, *Sold by* H. Brome, *and* H. Marsh, *&c.*

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